



HEALD TOWN.

A. J. & R. B. Co., Chicago, Ill., and London, E. C.

A BRIEF
HISTORY OF METHODISM,
AND OF METHODIST
MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON
THE LIVINGSTONIAN MISSION.

BY THE
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PAST AND FUTURE OF THE KAFFIR RACES."

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

London :

PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR AT THE
WESLEYAN CONFERENCE OFFICE,
2, CASTLE STREET, CITY ROAD, AND 66, PATERNOSTER ROW

1877.

PREFACE.

IN preparing this volume for publication my object has been to supply what seemed to me a *desideratum*,—a short but clear and comprehensive account of Methodism as it now is, and of the stages by which it has attained its present large development; to give, more particularly, a brief history of Methodist Missions in South Africa; and to do this in such a manner as to place the book within the reach of the European colonist, the Sabbath scholar, and the intelligent Kaffir or Fingoe Kaffir, many of whom have now acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable them to read, appreciate, and derive profit from the perusal of English literature. It may be said that such a History of Methodism and of Methodist Missions is not needed; that already the want has been met by the Histories of Dr. Smith, Dr. Stevens, and others. The provision, certainly, is ample for those who have money to purchase and leisure to read these elaborate works; but those for whom the present volume is designed have not either. With regard to Wesleyan Missions in South Africa, it may be urged that the works of Barnabas Shaw and William Shaw, Boyce's "Life of William Shaw," Taylor's "Adventures," Moister's "History," and other books, supply all the knowledge needful on these subjects. But the object of this work is to condense much from these varied sources, and, by the addition of my own long experience, to give all the information which the general reader may desire to obtain on these Missions.

It will be apparent to the careful reader that the difficulty of selection and compression has been great. Some may suppose that the volume should have contained some things which they will not find in it; and others may think

that some parts might have been left out as unnecessary : but it is hoped that nothing of material interest has been omitted, whilst great care has been taken to curtail whenever the subject admitted of it. My own observation and experience of thirty-six years should have some degree of weight in assisting me to form correct views of many facts recorded and events brought under consideration.

There is another reason which cannot be ignored, and is of growing importance ; in stating which I have no personal or party feeling, but simply record it as a fact ; namely, that the Roman Catholics are coming into the country in considerable force, and are pushing their way on the right hand and on the left. Many of the Episcopalians also affirm that the " so-called " Wesleyan Church is no Church, that the Ministry has no valid ordination, and that the people are " renegades." As a natural sequence, they hold that the whole should be absorbed in a Church which can establish its credentials to connexion with remote periods of Church history, and even with the New Testament itself. These specious representations are embarrassing to the minds of the natives as well as others ; and an antidote is greatly needed. This antidote I have sought to provide in the pages of this book. Nothing has been written in a polemical spirit ; but in the chapters on Church Organization and Polity an attempt has been made to prove that the Wesleyan Methodist Church is a true Scriptural Church, and that it has the high approval of God, who has very signally set the stamp of His approbation upon it in the extensive spiritual good which it has been the means of effecting in the world.

In the preparation of the first part of this volume the following works have been placed more or less under contribution : Dr. George Smith's and Dr. Stevens's Histories of Methodism, Kirk's " Mother of the Wesleys," Tyerman's " Life of the Rev. Samuel Wesley," " Lives of early Methodist Preachers," Jackson's " Centenary of Methodism," Dr. Rigg's " Essays for the Times," Watson's " Life of Wesley," Crook's " Ireland," the " Minutes of Conference," the " London Quarterly Review," Peirce's " Wesleyan Polity," &c.

In order to secure the largest amount of information in the smallest space, I have treated the period of each chapter as an epoch, and have endeavoured to group around it the subjects and facts relating thereto. Sometimes the order of dates has been a little violated, but, it is hoped, without confusion or detriment.

In preparing the latter part of the volume, the works before enumerated have been consulted; and in some places the Rev. William Shaw's "Story of my Mission" has rendered valuable aid: periodicals and miscellaneous papers have also been made use of, so far as they could contribute to the correctness and completeness of the whole. Ten years have elapsed since the first materials for this work began to be prepared; during which period I have sought to utilize such information as has come within my reach; while my own observation and long experience have supplied such parts as could be obtained in no other way. In committing the book to the notice of the Christian public, I am conscious of much that is defective. Some apology for this may be found in the fact that the work has been carried on under considerable difficulty, and has often been written in a fragmentary manner, consequent upon the pressure of numerous ministerial duties. Sometimes a few days have been devoted to it, and then weeks or months of interruption have followed; so that at times it has appeared problematical whether it would ever be completed and published. I thus have a strong claim upon the leniency of criticism; whilst at the same time I have been actuated by a hearty desire that the book may be extensively useful, and may accomplish to a great extent the objects contemplated in it; so that it may bring glory to God, and advance the good cause to which my life has been devoted.

W CLIFFORD HOLDEN.

*Fort Beaufort, South Africa,
February, 1877*

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF METHODISM.

PART I. METHODISM IN GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANCESTORS OF JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY.

SHORT as this History of Methodism is, it would be incomplete without some notice of the ancestors of the Rev. John Wesley. Those who have time to read the larger works of Dr. Clarke, Dr. Smith, the Rev. J. Kirk, and the Rev. L. Tyerman, will not need to be informed upon this subject. But this History is designed for those who have not the money to purchase, nor the leisure to read, those elaborate works; and who, consequently, must remain in ignorance, unless they obtain information in this less pretentious form.

The times in which the ancestors of the Wesleys lived, and the tragic scenes through which they passed, are full of deep and abiding interest; and must remain so, as long as Ecclesiastical History exists.

Many things of importance must be omitted in this volume, and others must be treated in a cursory manner, on account of the limited space allotted to the theme. But it is hoped that sufficient information may be given to supply a connected and satisfactory view of this part of Wesleyan History; so that some may be induced to obtain more costly works, whilst those who are not able may not

remain in ignorance as to the chief transactions and events of this great national movement.

Happily we have not to thread our way through a labyrinth of uncertainty and doubt in reference to this noble family. The Rev. John Kirk on the part of Mrs. Susannah Wesley, and the Rev. Luke Tyerman on the part of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, have so fully explored all matters relating to this family as to leave nothing more to be desired. The learned Dr. Adam Clarke was the first to take up this subject in due form, and to leave information which has been of essential service to those who, having more leisure, have entered more fully into it.

The Wesley family was a family of Priests on both the paternal and the maternal side: they served at the altar, and ministered in holy things.

Whilst Samuel and Susannah Wesley, the father and mother of John Wesley, were attached to, and closely connected with, the Established Church of England, their progenitors on both sides were decided Nonconformists; who endured long and harassing persecution in connexion with that noble host of worthies who were ejected from that Church for refusing to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity in August, 1662.

According to this Act, all those Clergymen who refused to conform to the ritual and liturgy of the State Church, were compelled by the strong arm of the law to abandon their livings, and thus sacrifice their means of subsistence, as well as be separated from their flocks. This intolerant Act was brought into operation on August 24th, 1662; a day which has since been fitly called "Black Bartholomew's Day;" because on that date more than two thousand of the most learned, godly, and devoted Ministers were ejected from their livings, "taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods" rather than violate the dictates of conscience, by doing that which they felt to be contrary to the will of God.

Amongst this noble band of confessors for conscience' sake were the grandfather and great-grandfather of John Wesley. Mr. Tyerman thus describes the event: "The previous Sunday had been a day such as England never knew either before or since. Hundreds of faithful Ministers

on that day preached farewell sermons to heart-broken, weeping flocks. Churches were crowded; aisles and stairs were crammed to suffocation; and people clung to the open windows like swarms of bees. It would have been pardonable if the Ministers had mingled with the loving exhortations addressed to the distressed crowds before them, sentiments of indignation at the legislative Act which was the means of their removal. But, instead of that, the discourses were as calm as the Pastors had ever preached, and some of them scarcely alluded to the peculiar circumstances of the time. A week after, on the day after Queen Catherine's jubilant reception, the Act of Uniformity was enforced in all its rigour, and upwards of two thousand Ministers, with their families, were ejected from their livings."

"What a scene," says John Wesley, "is opened here! The poor Nonconformists were used without either justice or mercy; and many of the Protestant Bishops of King Charles had neither more religion nor more humanity than the Papist Bishops of Queen Mary." "By this Act of Uniformity, thousands of men, guilty of no crime,—nothing contrary either to justice, mercy, or truth,—were stripped of all they had,—of their houses, lands, revenues,—and driven to seek where they could, or beg, their bread. For what? Because they did not dare to worship God according to other men's consciences!"

"Amongst the Ministers expelled by the Act of Uniformity, there were not a few of the most remarkable men that the Church in this country has ever had. Most of them were excellent scholars, judicious divines, faithful and laborious Pastors; men full of zeal for God and religion, undaunted in the service of their Master, diligent students, and powerful preachers. Especially were they men of great devotion, pleading for almost hours together at the throne of grace, and there inspired with faith, and love, and zeal, which raised them to the highest rank of heroes, and made them willing, not only to lose their livings, but to suffer even martyrdom itself, rather than to prove traitorous to Christ and to the liberties of His Church." It was a day of sorrow to the worthy Ministers who were ejected, and to the flocks from whom they were driven, but a heavier cala-

mity for the Church itself from which they were ejected ; for, by this one stroke thousands of her most devoted Ministers and pious people were cut off from her communion.

Bartholomew Wesley, the great-grandfather of John Wesley, was born about the year 1600. The place of his birth is not known with certainty ; he was educated for the ministry, and in 1640 was inducted into the living of Charmouth, and in 1650 into that of Catherstone, where he continued until the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

That he was a steady adherent of Cromwell and of the Parliament, admits not of doubt ; and that he was so from conscientious conviction, is equally clear. The times were exciting ; revolutions in Church and State were being brought about in the most unexpected manner, the very foundations of settled society appearing to be removed amidst the surging billows of political strife and Church polemics, in which Charles lost his head, and the Episcopal hierarchy was for the time being destroyed. The course which Bartholomew Wesley took amidst these mighty commotions and sweeping revolutions, was not the result of ignorance, passion, or caprice ; but was based upon solemn conviction, and guided by fixed principle, arrived at after long and prayerful investigation. We do not stop to ask how far he was right, but we simply take the facts as they arrive before us. The closing scene of this good man's life is thus given by Mr. Tyerman :

“ Bartholomew Wesley, after being ejected from his church at Charmouth, still continued to reside in the same village, and obtained a livelihood by the practice of physic. He made no secret of the fact that it was his intention and wish to capture the King ; and he jokingly told a gentleman that he was confident that, if ever the King came back, he would be certain to love long prayers ; for if he (Wesley) had not been at that time longer than any ordinary mortal at his devotion, he would have surely ‘snapt’ him. His were days of strife, of change, of oppression, and of sorrow. He lived to a good old age ; for he survived his son John, whose death, in 1678, greatly affected him. He preached when he could, and administered physic as far as he was able. A local historian writes concerning the persecuted

dissenting Christians in the west: 'They were rewarded with cruel mockings, bonds, and imprisonments; they wandered in deserts and in mountains; and in dens and caverns they hid themselves. In the solitudes of Pinney they offered up their prayers, in a dell between two high rocks, which have ever since been called "the Whitechapel Rocks;" and in an old house at Lyme there was recently discovered an ingeniously concealed oak staircase, capable of admitting only one person at a time, which led to a small apartment that had been used as a chapel.' In such places Bartholomew Wesley joined his fellow Christians in the worship which they stealthily presented to Almighty God. He and they have long since passed to the place where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' "

John Wesley, son of the foregoing Bartholomew Wesley and grandfather of the founder of Methodism, was born about the year 1636. At a very early period he was the subject of deep religious impressions, and had a solemn conviction that he was called to the work of the ministry. As a son of the prophets, the spirit of the prophets rested upon him: he was sent to Oxford at a suitable age, and there made great proficiency in the attainment of knowledge, especially in the Oriental languages; thus fitting himself for those responsible ecclesiastical duties which he had to perform.

His entrance into the ministry was not according to established order; "irregularity" attended his steps; and as great events cast their shadows beforehand, in this respect he was not an obscure type of his grandson John.

John Wesley began to preach, amongst seamen, at Radipole, a village about two miles distant from Weymouth. In the meantime the Vicar of Winterborne Whitechurch died, and the people of that parish wished Wesley to preach to them as a Minister on probation. He went; his ministry and life gave satisfaction to those who invited him; he passed his examination before Cromwell's "Triers;" and was appointed by the trustees to the living. This was in May, 1658, when he was about twenty-two years of age.

Winterborne Whitechurch is "a village about five miles

from Blandford, in Dorsetshire, and in 1851 had a population of 595. The income of the living, when it was presented to John Wesley, was about £30 a year. He was promised an augmentation of £100 a year; but, on account of the many changes in public affairs which soon afterwards took place, the promise failed in its fulfilment."

Oliver Cromwell died about four months after Wesley had entered upon his regular course of duty: days of darkness and sorrow quickly followed. After the death of Cromwell, his son Richard feebly tried to guide the affairs of state; but being utterly incompetent for these arduous duties, great confusion followed; Charles II. was recalled, and Richard retired into private life, and was left unmolested in his obscurity.

Charles II. was restored to the throne in 1660; but this was done in haste, and without any stipulations whatever being made as to the manner in which he should proceed in important matters arising out of the extraordinary state of commotion and revolution through which the nation had passed. Hence, as might have been expected, all who were connected with Cromwell and the Protectorate were subjected to the greatest hardships and privations. The Episcopal Church was soon again made the State Church, and all Ministers were required to observe its laws, and read the Prayers and Liturgy. This John Wesley positively refused to do; for which contumacy he was quickly summoned before Dr. Gilbert Ironside, Bishop of Bristol, who was consecrated about the time of Charles's restoration. The questions proposed by the Bishop, and the answers given by Wesley, are very characteristic, and strikingly show the spirit of the times; but as want of space will not allow me to quote them, the reader is referred to the *Life of Samuel Wesley* by the Rev. Luke Tyerman, pp. 36 to 41. The result of the examination is thus given:

"This is a long conversation, but it is instructive and useful, (1) as casting light upon Church and State affairs, immediately after the restoration of Charles; and (2) as furnishing several interesting facts in the history of Samuel Wesley's father. Passing over the first, we learn that John Wesley, like his grandson of the same name, was a man of

shrewd sense and pluck. He adhered to the Parliament and to the Commonwealth to the last moment ; but when he saw that the Commonwealth was doomed, and that the nation was resolved to restore the monarchy, like a man of sense, he laid aside his sword and quietly submitted. His continued firm adherence to the cause of the Commonwealth—‘to the last gasp,’ as the Bishop put it—brought him into trouble after the King’s return ; but royal clemency was properly exercised towards him, and there was an end of the affair. He had preferred another kind of government ; but now that Charles, by the voice of the nation, was seated upon the throne, Wesley took the oath of allegiance, and faithfully kept it.”

He was not, however, long permitted to enjoy his liberty. His conversation with Bishop Ironside occurred sometime during the year 1661. About the same period he was arrested, on the Lord’s day, as he was coming out of church, and was carried to Blandford, where he was committed to prison. The reason of his arrest was exactly the same as that which brought him before the Bishop of Bristol. He would not use the Liturgy. His enemies had accused him to the Bishop, but without effect, for the Bishop as yet was really without jurisdiction. King Charles had appointed Bishops to several dioceses, and the Liturgy had been introduced into those churches where the Ministers were avowedly Episcopalians ; but it was not until the month of November, 1661, that the Prayer Book was revised by Convocation ; and it was not until August, 1662, that the use of it was made binding. It is true that, during the summer of 1660, a Bill had been passed by Parliament, giving power to expel from Church livings every incumbent who had not been ordained by an ecclesiastic ; and by this Act John Wesley might have been expelled from the living of Winterborne Whitechurch. But this was not the ground taken by Sir Gerard Napper and the other parishioners who were inimical to his person and ministry. Probably they were not aware, or were not in a position to prove, that he had not received ordination ; and hence their illegal plot to imprison and expel him, because, in conducting Divine service in his church, he persisted in his refusal to use the Book of Common Prayer.

It was within two years after the restoration of Charles II. that Wesley was arrested and committed to Blandford gaol on such a charge. Sir Gerard Napper had been his most furious enemy, and the most forward in committing him ; but after Wesley had lain^{*} in prison for some length of time Sir Gerard broke his collar-bone, and, perhaps thinking that the disaster had happened as a judgment upon him for his cruelty to the young Minister, he requested some of his friends to bail him ; and told them, that if they refused, he would give bail himself. At length, by an order of the Privy Council, dated July 24th, 1661, it was directed that he should be discharged from his then imprisonment, upon taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. He was taken accordingly before a magistrate, who, for some reason, declined administering the oaths, but issued a warrant dated July 29th, 1661, commanding him to appear before the Judges of the assizes to be holden at Dorchester on the 1st of August following. He was tried accordingly and liberated ; but the notable 24th of August, 1662, quickly followed, when he was ejected from his living, in company with two thousand others.

“Little more,” writes Mr. Tyerman, “remains to be said concerning Samuel Wesley’s father. Where he spent the first six months after his ejection from his benefice, we have no means of knowing. Probably, however, he remained in the same village where he had spent the last four years, inasmuch as it was here that his son Samuel was born, only four months after the youthful Minister and his wife were cast out of their vicarage. On February 22nd, 1663, when Samuel Wesley was only nine weeks old, his father and his mother removed to Melcombe. Before their arrival their old enemy, Sir Gerard Napper, and seven other magistrates, by some stretch of authority, had turned out of office the Mayor and Aldermen of the borough, and had put into their place others more subservient to their will. Accordingly, when young Wesley and his wife, with their infant child, reached Melcombe, they found that the new Corporation had made an order against their settlement in the town ; and that if they persisted in settling there, a fine of £20 was to be levied upon the owner of the house in which

they lived, and five shillings per week upon themselves. Wesley waited upon the Mayor and some others, pleading that he had lived in Melcombe previously; and offering to give security for his proper behaviour; but all was of no avail; for, a few days afterwards, another order was drawn up for putting the former one into execution. These violent proceedings drove John Wesley and his family from the town, where, a few years before, he had lived beloved by all who knew him. He now went to Ilminster, Bridgewater, and Taunton; in all of which places the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists treated him with great kindness, and where he preached almost every day."

It was not long before the body of this devoted young Minister succumbed beneath the tempest which was continually bursting upon him, and he found a martyr's early grave. But he had previously begun to preach in private to a few good people in Preston, and occasionally at Weymouth, and at other places contiguous. After some time he had a call from a number of serious Christians at Poole to become their Pastor. He consented, and continued in that capacity while he lived, administering to them all the ordinances of God as opportunity offered. In consequence, however, of the Oxford Five Mile Act, passed in 1661, he was often put to great inconvenience. Notwithstanding all his prudence in managing his meetings, he was frequently disturbed, several times apprehended, and four times imprisoned;—once at Dorchester for three months, and once at Poole for half a year; and once, at least, he was obliged to leave his wife, his family, and his flock, and for a considerable time to hide himself in a place of secrecy. Again and again, the handful of godly people meeting in the house of Henry Saunders, mariner, of Melcombe, were arrested for being present at a conventicle, and were fined, imprisoned, or otherwise punished. Dr. Calamy adds, that John Wesley "was in many straits and difficulties, but was wonderfully supported and comforted, and was many times very seasonably and surprisingly relieved and delivered. Nevertheless, the removal of many eminent Christians into another world, who had been his intimate acquaintances and kind friends, the great decay of serious religion among

many professors, and the increasing rage of the enemies of real godliness, manifestly seized on and sunk his spirits; and he died when he had not been much longer an inhabitant here below than his blessed Master was, whom he served with his whole heart, according to the best light he had." Application was made to the Vicar of Preston to have him buried in the church; but the application was refused; and in the churchyard no stone tells where his ashes lie, nor is there any monument to record his worth.

From the concluding sentence of Dr. Calamy, it would seem that John Wesley died at the early age of thirty-three or thirty-four. He left behind him two sons,—Samuel and Matthew, and a faithful wife, who remained his widow for about half a century.

Limited space would forbid further details concerning Samuel Wesley's father; but, in fact, such details do not exist. "John Wesley, though young in years, evinced a mind elevated far above the common level, even of those who have had the advantages of a collegiate education. He was no unthinking zealot or timid changeling. He had made himself master of the controverted points between the Established Church and Dissenters; and his opinions, being founded upon conviction, were held with the fidelity of a martyr's grasp. To say nothing of other facts, his interview with the Bishop of Bristol displays the same sincere and zealous piety, the same manly sense, and the same heroic yet respectful boldness, which distinguished his son Samuel and his grandsons John and Charles in after years." Dr. Adam Clarke observes, that from the same conversation "the reader may learn two important facts: (1.) That the grandfather of the founder of Methodism was a lay preacher. (2.) That he was an Itinerant Evangelist. Indeed, we find in John Wesley's history an epitome of the Methodism which sprang up, through the instrumentality of his grandsons John and Charles; his mode of preaching, matter, manner, and success, bearing a striking resemblance to theirs and to their coadjutors' "

The grandmother of John Wesley, on the paternal side, was thus left a young widow with two small children, to struggle through the world, amidst poverty and privation.

Mr. Tyerman remarks, "As already shown, her father died when she was young. Her uncle died when her husband was suffering imprisonment for conscience' sake. Her husband died about the early age of thirty-four, leaving her nothing but his holy example, his loving prayers, and at least two young children. How she obtained a living in the early years of her widowhood there is no evidence to show ; but, in her later years, she was obliged to depend on the little help of £10 *per annum*, which her son Samuel was accustomed to squeeze out of his sadly too small Epworth income. The whole of her married life was one continued scene of persecution ; and the forty years of her long and dreary widowhood, was an unceasing struggle with poverty and its attendant pain." She was alive in 1710 ; (see Clarke's "Wesley Family," vol. ii., p. 144 ;) but we have no particulars of her brave battling for bread and schooling for her children, and of her passing away to the "land of rest."

SAMUEL WESLEY.

SAMUEL WESLEY, the father of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was one of the two sons thus early bereft of their father. The widow, though bereaved and poor and persecuted, did not lose heart amidst her complicated and heavy trials, but, as a true Christian heroine, resolved to do battle against her adverse circumstances ; and so far succeeded as to bring up her young Samuel for the Christian ministry. He being a son of the prophets, she was not willing that the sacred office should become extinct in the death of her martyred husband ; and, notwithstanding her pecuniary embarrassment, she found the means of sending him to school. Samuel Wesley was born at Winterborne Whitchurch in 1662. He was educated at the Free School at Dorchester, by Mr. Henry Dolling, to whom, out of respect, he dedicated the first work which he published. Young Wesley remained here until he was a little more than fifteen years of age, when he was sent to an academy at Stepney, and afterwards to one at Newington Green, where he continued until August, 1683, when he had nearly arrived at the age of twenty-one. Meantime he

made rapid progress, and gave signs of poetic genius in the production of some juvenile pieces.

At this stage of his history an event of great importance occurred, being no less than that of his leaving the Dissenters, and joining the Church of England.

Samuel Wesley left the ranks of the Dissenters in 1683. This was an extraordinary step, considering the long and bitter persecution which his family had endured from members of the Established Church. His son, the Rev. John Wesley, gives the following account of it. "Some severe invectives being written against the Dissenters, Mr. S. Wesley, being a young man of considerable talent, was pitched upon to answer them. This set him on a course of reading, which soon produced an effect different from what had been intended. Instead of writing the wished-for answer, he himself conceived he saw reason to change his opinions; and actually formed a resolution to renounce the Dissenters, and attach himself to the Established Church. He lived at that time with his mother and an old aunt, both of whom were too strongly attached to the Dissenting doctrines to have borne, with any patience, the disclosure of his design. He therefore got up one morning, at a very early hour, and, without acquainting any one with his purpose, set out on foot to Oxford, and entered himself of Exeter College."

Such is Mr. Wesley's account of the matter. We cannot, however, withhold the following apposite and forcible quotation from "Essays for the Times." After the writer has assigned various reasons for young Wesley's conduct, he thus sums up: "But beyond all these considerations, the Nonconformity of 1682 was very inferior in strength and grandeur to the Puritanism of fifty years before. The nation was no longer capable of such fruit as it had borne in the last generation. It was passing through a stage of deepening degeneracy. The Commonwealth, with all its glories, had in part prepared the way for this. There was probably less religion, and certainly more hypocrisy, in 1659 than in 1640. A show of austere and punctilious godliness had become fashionable: the result was a widespread growth of sanctimonious hypocrisy, and, on the

part of a large section of the nation, a rooted disgust at everything like moral restraint or religious solemnity. Then followed the Restoration with its floods of unbridled licentiousness, and its fashion of unbelief. St. Bartholomew's Day silenced by thousands the holiest and ablest preachers in the land, and suppressed the growth of godly Ministers who should have risen up into the offices of the Church. Twenty years had passed since that period, years of increasing irreligion and corruption of every kind. The King was a pensioner of Louis of France. French manners and French morals had debased the dignity and purity of the country of Cecil and Hampden; the manliness of the nation was in process of decomposition; the Christian faith and heart of the people were dying out: a downward course had been entered upon, so far as respected the national life and character, which neither the Revolution of 1688 nor the victories of Marlborough could effectually arrest, which reached its lowest point in the reign of George II., and from which England was only redeemed by the religious movement of which Methodism was the chief instrument and the representative. Great principles could not maintain their ground in such an age; the more noble or sacred any course might be, the less likely was it to obtain popular support. Hence, in 1682, Nonconformity was fast losing its grandeur. It had no political party to sustain it. It had lost the heart of the nation. Puritanism had been identified with a great struggle for political liberty, with gallant resistance against a crushing and cruel despotism. Hence, in great part, its hold upon the nation at large; hence its grandeur and sacredness in their eyes. But that great movement had worn itself out. Puritanism under the Commonwealth had done violence to national prejudices, offended popular taste, proscribed the pastimes and pleasures alike of high and low. This, in the case of a nation not as yet very far removed from Popish times, and from the licence of Popish and mediæval manners, whose squires and yeomen were still in a high degree coarse, ignorant, and jovial, was more than could be endured. 'New wine' had been 'put into old bottles,' and the result was that the bottles burst and the wine was spilled. More-

over, the multiplicity of dissenting sects, and the ignorance, fanaticism, and presumption of not a few self-constituted sectarian teachers, had disgusted the rude but useful common sense of the average Englishman of the period. From the combined effect of these causes, and causes such as these, Puritanism lost its hold upon the people of England. But for this, the Ministers and Parliament of Charles II. could not have carried into effect their policy of proscription and persecution.

“The people in 1662 were not prepared to run the hazard of another revolution, or, indeed, to run any hazard at all, in behalf of the Puritan divines, whose character, notwithstanding, multitudes among them revered, and whose cruel sufferings multitudes more commiserated. They might pity the poor victims, but they could not rally to the cause. The consequence was, that as years passed away, what had once been a great and noble party, identified with all that was truest, freest, and most godly in England, became little more than a sectarian remnant. Most of the great leaders among the Puritans were dead or aged. In an age of deepening heartlessness and vice, their plain worship and strict maxims found less and less favour. Occasionally, when such a man as Baxter was ‘shamefully treated’ by such a monster as Jeffreys, there was some movement of indignation. But this did not interfere with the general decline of the cause.”

This quotation gives a general and philosophic view of the times, and the causes which would have an influence upon the mind of Samuel Wesley. But, great as this influence was, the real cause of this change was the absence of converting grace in the heart of this young man, and the consequent want of face and fortitude to combat the spirit of the times. “After making every deduction on account of the circumstances under which he, as a Churchman, was led to write, and afterwards to vindicate, his account of his education among the Dissenters, we fear so much in general must be accepted as undoubted. The radical evil, however, was, that neither Samuel Wesley nor his offending companions were truly converted, or had a sense of their Divine vocation to the work of the ministry.’

The turning point came at last. Being a young man of spirit, as his son John observes, "he was pitched upon to answer some severe invectives" recently published against the Dissenters. He had, as we have seen, for some time had his misgivings about Dissent; to him, at any rate, it was not the holy thing it had been to his forefathers. He had seen the seamy side of a worn garment. True, it had been hallowed by the sufferings of his ancestors, and had still the love of many of the excellent of the earth. But the education of Samuel Wesley, a smart, wilful, and fatherless lad, had not been such as to teach him humility. His self-confidence had been nurtured; his powers of disputation had been unduly stimulated. What wonder, then, that he soon discovered himself to be "wiser than all his teachers?" "During his preparation for the task which had been assigned him," as Mr. Kirk tells us, "he saw reason to change his opinions." The result was, that, instead of writing the answer, "he renounced the Dissenters, and attached himself to the Established Church." This was in 1683, when he was probably about twenty-one years of age.

I have thought it needful to place this part of young Wesley's conduct in as clear a light as possible, as it may partially affect some observations in a future page. It will be needful for me to pass over nearly the whole of the life of this learned, laborious, and conscientious Minister of the Established Church, only stopping to notice a few leading particulars.

He entered Exeter College, Oxford, as a servitor; that is, taking the lowest place; probably on account of his real poverty, as he had only a few pounds to commence with. But difficulties only nerved his resolute soul: he was resolved to conquer, and conquer he did.

After a laborious and honourable College course, he was ordained a Priest of the Church of England, by Dr. Compton, in St. Andrew's church, on February 24th, 1689. This was only a few days after the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared by the Parliament to be King and Queen of England. "Mr. Wesley's first ecclesiastical appointment," says Mr. Tyerman, "was a curacy with an income of £28

a year. He was then appointed Chaplain on board a man-of-war, where his salary was at the rate of £70 a year, and where he began his poem on the 'Life of Christ.' He then obtained another curacy in London ; his ecclesiastical income, during the two years' service that he rendered, being £30 per annum, an amount which he doubled by his industry and writings. It was while he held this appointment that he married, he and his wife living in lodgings, until after the birth of their first-born, Samuel." Thirty pounds a year was a very small pittance for the support of himself, his wife, and first-born son ; but they were obliged to subsist upon it, with only such other aid as he could obtain from his writings.

After being Curate, the living of South Ormsby was given him, of which we learn the following. "In 1691, or thereabout, Mr. Wesley was appointed to the parish of South Ormsby, a neat Lincolnshire village, about eight miles north-west of Spilsby. It is pleasantly situated ; and in 1821 the parish, including the adjoining hamlet of Kettlesby, contained thirty-six dwelling-houses, and two hundred and sixty-one inhabitants ; a population probably quite equal to what it was in the days of Samuel Wesley. The church consists of a tower, a nave, and a chancel, with a small chapel on the northern side, and is dedicated to St. Leonard.

"This was no serious charge for a young clergyman of twenty-eight years of age, and possessed of learning and ability like those of Samuel Wesley ; yet here, among his flock of two hundred men, women, and children, he resided and faithfully laboured for about the next five years. The living was obtained for him, without any solicitation on his part, by the Marquis of Normanby. Its emoluments were £50 a year, and a house to live in. The house was little better than a mud built hut, and Samuel Wesley, in describing it and his own life in it, writes :

'In a mean cot, composed of reeds and clay,
Wasting in sighs the uncomfortable day ;
Near where the inhospitable Humber roars,
Devouring by degrees the neighbouring shores ;
Let earth go where it will, I'll not repine,
Nor can unhappy be, while heaven is mine.'

After being at South Ormsby for five years, the rectory of Epworth was given him, where he lived and laboured for thirty-nine years, until his death in 1735. The following letter gives a striking picture of the straitened circumstances of the family, and the buoyancy and even playfulness of Wesley's mind under pressing difficulties.

“EPWORTH, *May 18th, 1701.*

“MY LORD,—This comes as a rider to the last, by the same post, to bring such news as, I presume, will not be unwelcome to a person who has so particular a concern for me. Last night my wife brought me *a few* children. There are but two yet, a boy and a girl, and I think they are all at present. We have had four in two years and a day, three of which are living.

“Never came anything more like a gift from heaven, than what the Countess of Northampton sent by your Lordship's charitable offices. Wednesday evening my wife and I clubbed and joined stocks, which came but to *six shillings*, to send for coals. Thursday morning I received the £10, and at night my wife was delivered. Glory be to God for His unspeakable goodness!—I am,

“Your Grace's most obliged and most humble servant,

“S. WESLEY.”

His house was twice destroyed by fire, and his poverty was consummated by his being at length sent to prison for debt. But even here his vivacity did not forsake him, as his letter to Archbishop Sharp shows :

“LINCOLN CASTLE, *June 25th, 1705.*

“MY LORD,—Now I am at rest, for I have come to the haven where I have long expected to be. On Friday last, when I had been christening a child at Epworth, I was arrested in my churchyard by one who had been my servant and gathered my tythe last year, at the suit of one of Mr. Whichcott's relations and zealous friends, (Mr. Pinder,) according to their promise, when they were in the Isle, before the election. The sum was not £30, but it was as good as five hundred. Now, they knew the burning of my flax, my London journey, and their throwing me out of my regiment, had both sunk my credit, and exhausted my money. My adversary was sent to where I was on the road, to meet me, that I might make some proposals to him. But all his answer was, that ‘I must immediately pay the whole sum or

go to prison.' Thither I went with no great concern for myself, and find much more civility and satisfaction here than in *brevibus Gyaris* of my own Epworth. I thank God, my wife was pretty well recovered, and was churched some days before I was taken from her; and I hope she will be able to look to my family, if they do not turn them out of doors, as they have often threatened to do. One of my biggest concerns was my being forced to leave my poor lambs in the midst of so many wolves. But the Great Shepherd is able to provide for them, and to preserve them. My wife bears it with that courage which becomes her, and which I expected from her.

"I do not despair of doing some good here, and it may be I shall do more in this new parish than in my old one; for I have leave to read prayers every morning and afternoon in the prison, and to preach once a Sunday, which I choose to do in the afternoon, when there is no sermon at the minster. I am getting acquainted with my brother gaol-birds as fast as I can, and shall write to London by next post, to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, who, I hope, will send me some books to distribute among them.

"I should not write these things from a gaol if I thought your Grace would believe me ever the less for my being here; where, if I should lay my bones, I would bless God and pray for your Grace.

"Your Grace's very obliged and most humble servant,

"S. WESLEY."

Although his enemies had deprived him of his liberty, it is evident from this letter that they could not rob him of his courage, confidence, and comfort; and that if the door of usefulness in his church was closed, he would open one in his prison.

This devoted Minister spent the last twenty-nine years of his life in herculean literary labours, constantly preaching the Word, and attending to pastoral duties; until, old age coming on, his robust frame gradually sank under the pressure of more than three-score and ten years. His state of mind in his last illness is thus given by his son John:

"My father did not die unacquainted with the faith of the Gospel of the primitive Christians, or of our first Reformers; the same which, by the grace of God, I preach,

and which is just as new as Christianity. What he experienced before I know not; but I know that, during his last illness, which continued eight months, he enjoyed a clear sense of his acceptance with God. I heard him express it more than once, although at that time I understood him not. 'The inward witness, son, the inward witness,' said he to me, 'that is the proof, the strongest proof, of Christianity.' And when I asked him, (the time of his change drawing nigh,) 'Sir, are you in much pain?' He answered aloud with a smile, 'God does chasten me with pain, yea, all my bones with strong pain; but I thank Him for all, I bless Him for all, I love Him for all!' I think the last words he spoke, when I had just commended his soul to God, were, 'Now you have done all;' and, with the same serene, cheerful countenance, he fell asleep without one struggle, or sigh, or groan. I cannot therefore doubt but the Spirit of God bore an inward witness with his spirit that he was a child of God."

In his sermon "on Love," preached at Savannah in 1736, he adverts to his father's death, and says: "When asked, not long before his release, 'Are the consolations of God small with you?' he replied aloud, 'No, no, no!' and then calling all that were near him by their names, he said, 'Think of heaven, talk of heaven; all the time is lost when we are not thinking of heaven.'"

MRS. SUSANNAH WESLEY.

LIMITED as my space is, it would be inexcusable if I were not to give at least a brief notice of Mrs. Samuel Wesley, the honoured mother of John Wesley. She was indeed one of the most remarkable and honoured women that have adorned the page of history, and conferred large benefits upon the human race. For a full-drawn portrait of her, let me recommend my readers to peruse her *Memoirs*, as given by the Rev. John Kirk in his "Mother of the Wesleys."

She was the daughter of Dr. Annesley, one of the most distinguished Clergymen who were ejected from the Established Church, when the Act of Uniformity was enforced. His talents, his learning, and his fortune were consecrated to the service of God. They were "offered upon the altar which sanctifieth the gift;" and being accepted and sancti-

fied by Him who is "Head over all things unto the Church," they were largely used in opposing the inroads of error, and repelling the flood of licentiousness, which now rolled in with such mighty force. Mr. Kirk thus relates the closing scene of Dr. Annesley's life :

"During a severe and long continued affliction, he was perfectly resigned to the Divine will. He charged those around him not to entertain hard thoughts of God because he suffered so much in his last end. 'Blessed be God,' he exclaimed, 'I have been faithful in the work of the ministry above fifty-five years!' Having enjoyed 'uninterrupted peace and assurance of God's love for above thirty years last past,' the holy calm of soul was not broken when the waves and billows of death went over his head. 'I have no doubt, nor shadow of doubt! All is clear between God and my soul. He chains up Satan; *he* cannot trouble me.' His mind had so long been filled with thoughts of God and heaven, that, even in moments of mental wandering, he still breathed the same spirit, and spake of Divine matters most consistently. His head was not free of those projects for God, which in health it was ever full of. 'Come, dear Jesus! the nearer the more precious, and the more welcome!' was a sentence often falling from his lips. Then the flood of holy joy so inundated his soul that he exclaimed, 'I cannot contain it! What manner of love is this to a poor worm! I cannot express a thousandth part of what praise is due to Thee! We know not what we do when we aim at praising God for His mercies! It is but little I can give; but, Lord, help me to give Thee my all! I will die praising Thee, and rejoice that there are others that can praise Thee better. I shall be satisfied with Thy likeness!—Satisfied—Satisfied! O, my dearest Jesus, I come!'"

"In him," says Williams, in closing his Funeral Sermon, "the world has lost a blessing; the Church has lost a pillar; the nation has lost a wrestler with God; the poor have lost a benefactor; you, his people, have lost a faithful pastor; you, his children, a tender father; we, in the ministry, an exemplary fellow labourer." He desired that his remains should rest with those of his beloved wife, and in the old register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, for December,

1696, we read, "Samuel Annesley was buried the seventh day, from Spittle Yard." He sleeps within the walls of that grand old edifice, but no slab or monument marks his precise resting-place. The Omniscient Eye observes his dust. His flesh resteth in hope ; and could we give it voice, it would speak in the words of the ancient man of Uz : "Thou shalt call, and I will answer Thee : Thou wilt have a desire to the work of Thine hands." (Job xiv. 15.) And when the time of the consummation of all things shall arrive, then shall his dying utterance be realized : "As for me, I will behold Thy face in righteousness : I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness." (Psalm xvii. 15.)

Miss Susannah Annesley, afterwards Mrs. Susannah Wesley, was born in the year 1670. She possessed a fine mind, which was largely developed at an early period. She applied herself, not only to the attainment of knowledge in general, but also to the study of those more abstruse subjects which related to Church and State, to Uniformity and Dissent ; and, possessing great independence of soul, she asserted her right to judge and decide for herself upon points and subjects far beyond what is usual at so early a period of life.

When only *thirteen years* old, she had examined these subjects, formed her conclusions, and resolved to forsake, like Wesley, the Church of her distinguished fathers. "In those perilous and trying times, the children of the Puritans seem never to have been young. That Susannah Annesley at the early age of thirteen abandoned the ministry of her venerable father, and went alone to Shoreditch church, is hardly to be supposed. But from that age the convictions of the highly educated and independent girl were decided. Probably she, no less than her lover, had been disquieted with much that she had seen of Stepney and Stoke Newington students, so different from the spirit and deportment of her parents, from the manners and carriage of her noble relatives, from the ideal which she would have pictured of Puritan godliness and spirituality. She had fallen on an unheroic age ; the baldness of the meeting house was no longer redeemed by the heavenliness

of the confessors. There was not, indeed, more godliness in the Established Church than in Dissent ; probably there was much less. But there was no pretence of superior godliness. And there were at this time great preachers in the London churches—such men as Barrow, Tillotson, Tenison, Stillingfleet, Lowth, and Sherlock, with whom, for popular effect, even such a man as Charnock could hardly compare ; while the solemn beauty of the services satisfied her taste and won her admiration. So from this time forth Sukey Annesley is known in her father's family as 'the young Churchwoman,' and by her noble father indulged accordingly. She is the flower of the family. Others are more beautiful, though she is fair, but none more cultivated and accomplished,—none so thoughtful and thorough as she. The young Collegian has gained her heart ; the family understand that, and let her know that they understand it. Susannah goes to church sometimes ; more and more frequently as she expands into a noble woman ; after her marriage, which will not be delayed any longer than needful, she will be a Churchwoman altogether. Thus, if the Puritans could not transmit to her lover and herself their ecclesiastical principles, at least they transmitted a bold independence of judgment and of conduct."

She was married to Samuel Wesley in 1690, being twenty years old at the time, and had to go into lodgings in London with her husband, whose stipend was £30 a year. She must have possessed a bold spirit and heroic resolve to have entered into married life under such circumstances : poverty was her lot all her life through. Each year brought to the family an addition of a child,—in one instance there were four in a little more than two years,—until there were at least thirteen at home at one time. Her poverty was extreme, as we have seen from her husband's letters, but the following quotation gives her own statement.*

"The full story of their thrift, sufferings, and manifold contrivances to make ends meet, can never be told ; but there are facts to show that they had far more than an ordinary share of the common troubles of life. When, in

* Kirk's "Mother of the Wesleys," p. 171.

the spring of 1701, Mrs. Wesley and her husband 'clubbed and joined stocks to send for coals,' all they could muster was six shillings. A quarter of a century later, five pounds was all they had to 'keep the family from May-day till after harvest.' Thirteen years from the date of the disastrous fire, the house was not half furnished nor the family half clothed. No wonder that when he paid his friendly visit in 1731, the Rector's wealthy brother was 'strangely scandalized at the poverty of the furniture, and much more so at the meanness of the children's habit.' 'Tell me, Mrs. Wesley,' said the good Archbishop Sharp, 'whether you ever really wanted bread.' 'My Lord,' replied the noble woman, 'I will freely own that, strictly speaking, I never did want bread. But then I had so much care to get it before it was eat, and to pay for it after, as has often made it very unpleasant to me. And I think to have bread on such terms, is the next degree of wretchedness to having none at all.' 'You are certainly in the right,' replied his Lordship, and made her a handsome present, which she had 'reason to believe afforded him comfortable reflections before his exit.' "

Her Christian labours were not limited, however, to her heavy domestic duties, and the thorough systematic education of her children, great and onerous as such claims were. She added to them by establishing regular religious services at the parsonage on a Sabbath evening in the absence of her husband. She thus broke down the barriers of church order, and entered upon a course of irregularity, which assisted in preparing her two younger sons for their future course of irregular duties.

Towards the close of 1711, her husband went to London, where he remained several months. His place was supplied by a very inefficient Curate, and public worship was held only on the Sabbath morning. Mrs. Wesley felt that, as the mistress of a large family of children and servants, it was her duty to hold some religious service in the parsonage, lest the greater part of the Lord's day should be spent in idleness or frivolity. "And though the superior charge of the souls contained in the household lies upon you, as the head of the family, as their Minister," she

writes to her husband ; “ yet, in your absence, I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care as a talent committed to me, under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth. And if I am unfaithful to Him, or to you, in neglecting to improve these talents, how shall I answer unto Him when He shall command me to render an account of my stewardship ? As these and other such like thoughts made me at first take a more than ordinary care of the souls of my children and servants ; so, knowing that our most holy religion requires a strict observation of the Lord’s day, and not thinking that we fully answered the end of the institution by only going to church, but that likewise we are obliged to fill up the intermediate spaces of that sacred time by other acts of piety and devotion, I thought it my duty to spend some part of the day in reading to and instructing my family, especially in your absence, when, having no afternoon’s service, we have so much leisure for such exercises. And such time I esteemed spent in a way more acceptable to God, than if I had retired to my own private devotions.”

The worthy Curate complained, and her husband, in writing to her, requested her to desist. Her answer was noble and unbending, and well became the mother of the men who afterwards braved the deposition of prelates, priests, magistrates, and mobs, and despite all opposition succeeded in establishing a great and mighty spiritual work and agency throughout the land.* “ Did not this proceeding, however, turn the parsonage into a conventicle, and damage the regular services of the church ? This was alleged at the time ; and what was Mrs. Wesley’s reply ? ‘ I shall not inquire how it was possible that you should be prevailed on by the senseless clamours of two or three of the worst of your parish to condemn what you so lately approved. But I shall tell you my thoughts in as few words as possible. I do not hear of more than three or four persons who are against our meeting, of whom Inman is the chief. He and Whitely, I believe, may call it a conventicle ; but we hear no outcry here, nor has any one said a word against it to me. And

* Kirk, p. 262.

what does their calling it a conventicle signify? Does it alter the nature of the thing? or do you think that what they say is a sufficient reason to forbear a thing that has already done much good, and by the blessing of God may do much more? If its being called a conventicle by those who know in their conscience they misrepresent it, did really make it one, what you say would be somewhat to the purpose. But it is plain, in fact, that this one thing has brought more people to church than ever anything did in so short a time. We used not to have above twenty or twenty-five at evening service; whereas we have now between two and three hundred; which are more than ever came before to hear Inman in the morning.’”

Want of space forbids our lingering longer around the many excellences of this remarkable woman, and especially our noticing the part she took in guiding her devoted sons in the early stages of their evangelical career: it is hoped, however, that enough has been given to induce the reader to purchase Mr. Kirk’s book, “The Mother of the Wesleys,” and read it for himself, or *herself*, as every young female or anxious mother must derive great benefit from the study of such a life, and the imitation of such an example. I quote the final scene: “The records of her closing hours are not so ample as we could desire; but they are precious and suggestive, affording every evidence of a blissful and triumphant close. When her son John, after a hurried ride from Bristol, where the tidings of her approaching end probably reached him, arrived in London, on the twentieth of July, 1742, he wrote the touching sentence, ‘I found my mother on the borders of eternity!’ Nature was rapidly giving way, and the bourne of life was reached. A few days before her bodily sufferings were severe, and her mental conflicts fierce and torturing: but now all doubts and fears are fled for ever. There remains but one desire, ‘to depart, and be with Christ, as soon as God shall call.’ Her husband and twelve of her children are already with the Lord, and why should she longer tarry? On the twenty-third, just as the eyelids of the morning open upon her, and about twelve hours before her departure, she wakes from a quiet slumber, rejoicing ‘with joy

unspeakable and full of glory.' Her exultant expressions attract the attention of her children. They listen, and hear her saying, 'My dear Saviour! art Thou come to help me in my extremity at last?' From that moment 'she is sweetly resigned indeed. The enemy has no more power to hurt her. The remainder of her time is spent in praise.'

"Just after the customary mid-day intercession meeting,—when fervent supplications were no doubt offered for her departing spirit,—'her pulse is almost gone, and her fingers are dead.' Her 'change is near, and her soul on the wing for eternity.' That solemn commendatory prayer which, more than seven years before, rose over her dying husband at Epworth, and told that the hour of her widowhood was at hand, now rises from the lips of the same beloved son, commending her own soul into the hands of Him with whom 'are the issues from death.' Her look is 'calm and serene, and her eyes fixed upward.' From three to four the silver cord is loosing; the wheel is breaking at the cistern; and those who look out of the windows are being darkened. Her son, and all her surviving daughters,—Nancy, Emilia, Hetty, Patty, and Sukey,—sit down 'on her bedside, and sing a requiem to her dying soul.' And what is the death-song which, in its beautiful burden of praise, rises from those tremulous but well-trained voices, as the grand accompaniment of the ascending spirit to the harmonies of heaven? Some of those strains 'for the one departing' subsequently written by the dying widow's own minstrel son, would have been a most appropriate expression of the grateful sorrow of these devout children before Him who had been 'pleased to deliver the soul of this their dear mother out of the miseries of this sinful world.' Well might they have sung in her closing ears:

'Happy soul, thy days are ended,
All thy mourning days below;
Go, by angel guards attended,
To the sight of Jesus, go!
Waiting to receive thy spirit,
Lo! the Saviour stands above;
Shows the purchase of His merit,
Reaches out the crown of love.'

"When the sound of their song had ceased, 'she con-

tinued,' says John, 'in just the same way as my father was, struggling and gasping for life, though—as I could judge by several signs—perfectly sensible till near four o'clock. I was then going to drink a dish of tea, being faint and weary, when one called me again to the bedside. It was just four o'clock. She opened her eyes wide, and fixed them upward for a moment. Then the lids dropped, and the soul was set at liberty, without one struggle, or groan, or sigh. We stood around the bed, and fulfilled her last request, uttered a little before she lost her speech: "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God." ' '*

I close these brief notices of the Wesley family in the memorable words of Dr. Clarke: "Such a family I have never read of, heard of, or known; nor, since the days of Abraham and Sarah, and Joseph and Mary of Nazareth, has there ever been a family to which the human race has been more indebted."

* Kirk's "Mother of the Wesleys," pp. 232-4.

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND WHEN METHODISM AROSE.

It is admitted by all serious, well informed persons, that when God raised up John Wesley and his coadjutors as the instruments of reviving and spreading true religion through Great Britain, and subsequently through the world, error and sin prevailed to an alarming extent. From the accession of Charles II. in 1660 to the Revolution in 1688, a flood of licentiousness poured over the land; every thing that was calculated to gratify depraved human nature was freely indulged in; "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life," were followed to the greatest extent. This depraved state of feeling and action was not confined to any particular class of the community, but pervaded all classes from the highest to the lowest. Under a wicked King, the vilest men were exalted, and all catered for the largest amount of sensual gratification. The government and the state were so disorganized and polluted, that they could not oppose any effectual barrier to this widespread deluge.

As Dr. George Smith observes, "The Restoration completely removed this appearance of morality. It opened wide the flood-gates of licentiousness and vice. The court was the seat of wholesale prostitution. The King was a confirmed voluptuary; and being an utter stranger to virtue himself, he was careless of it in others. He is acknowledged to have been the father of at least eleven children, born of seven different women, who lived successively with him as mistresses, although he had a Queen the whole time, who had to meet and mix up with these women at court. This profligacy exerted a fatal influence on the people, and soon greatly affected the morals of the nation; and wild licentiousness was accompanied by corresponding

progress in brutality and violence. Sir John Coventry, having said something offensive to the King's mistresses, was seized in the streets of London by some courtiers, who slit his nose open. Vice stalked through the land without disguise. Buckingham, Rochester, Sir Charles Sedley, and the Killigrews, were most distinguished by their wit and libertinism. Charles laughed at their follies, and, by his example and that of his cavaliers, rendered licentiousness and debauchery generally prevalent. Drunkenness was common; conversation was fearfully corrupted; the coarsest jests and most indecent words were admitted amongst the highest classes, and even disgraced the literature of the day."

Infidelity also with bold effrontery sought to effectually undermine Divine truth, and remove all moral obligation and control, throwing off all restraint, and sapping the foundation of political as well as moral life. This did not apply to a few obscure persons in the lower walks of life, but to those who bore the distinguished names of noblemen, statesmen, and philosophers.* Of this no doubt can be entertained, when it is remembered, that the pernicious and wicked writings of Hobbes, Toland, Blount, Collins, Mandeville, Shaftesbury, Tindal, Morgan, Woolston, and Chubb, were then in full circulation; and that the higher and more influential classes of society were especially corrupted by their poison. The evil was aggravated by the appearance, about the middle of the century, of the infidel speculations of Bolingbroke. By many it was regarded as a settled point, that Christianity was a fable, which they were justified in holding up to public reprobation and scorn, for the manner in which it had restrained the appetites and passions of mankind.

As the state was thus polluted and powerless, shameless vice was so bold and defiant that even men of literary talent felt it incumbent upon them to employ their pens in trying to lessen the evil. Much was written and said by the literary celebrities of the day, to expose revolting sensuality, and encourage at least the decencies of common morality. Thus Steele and Addison, Pope and Berkeley and Johnson, employed their satirical or eloquent pens in both prose and

* Jackson's "Centenary of Methodism," p. 3.

poetry, to defend and support truth, and propagate morality; and doubtless much of the most revolting sensuality was restrained in outward action; but the root of the evil remained untouched, and men still gloried in their shame. As Dr. Smith observes: "The virtue of Britain is represented at this time as *in a dying state, at the last gasp*. But could the moral essays of Addison, beautiful, chaste, and elevating as they were, save her? No: all their power, brilliance, and energy must have been totally inadequate. Nothing but the pure truth of God, sown broadcast over the country, and applied to the consciences of the people, by 'the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' could meet the case, and save the population of England from spiritual death and moral putrefaction. The virtue of Britain must have panted and perished, if some active, general, and directly religious agency had not been brought to bear on the public mind: but such an agency it pleased the good providence of God at this period to provide." Men may try to purify the streams, but if the fountain is corrupt, the effort is vain: men may lop off some of the most corrupt branches, but if the tree is bad, little good is effected. The evil was deep-rooted, the moral and spiritual malady intense.

We might, however, fairly suppose that truth and piety had taken refuge in the Church, either among Episcopalians, Dissenters, or both, where, if they failed in making aggressive action upon the world, they at least preserved evangelical truth and experimental godliness in the Church. Not so; if reliance is to be placed upon the statements and representations of the most credible witnesses of those times. The Established Church, with its imposing array of cathedrals, churches, Priests, altars, and vestments, with the prestige of hoary age, was powerless for good; and the Presbyterian and Dissenting Churches, with less parade of outward show, knew but little of evangelical preaching and spiritual power. In proof of this, one or two quotations must suffice.

Bishop Burnet says: "I cannot look on without the deepest concern, when I see the imminent ruin hanging over this Church, and, by consequence, over the whole Reformation.

'The outward state of things is black enough, God knows ; but that which heightens my fears rises chiefly from the inward state into which we are unhappily fallen.'

This was not the worst ; for the very seat of vital truth, in the conviction of the judgment and the force of the conscience, was invaded, if not destroyed ; and the Christian Church was no longer affected in its action by the only power which God employs for the regeneration of the world and the salvation of men. Bishop Butler, on this point, affirmed : "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry ; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And, accordingly, they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment ; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world."

The great majority of the Clergy of the Church of England were unaccountably ignorant of the plainest truths of God's holy Word, and were profligate in their lives. Instead of regarding their profession as a vocation from God, in which they were put in charge of souls, and must be accountable to God for them, they valued that profession only so far as it provided for the means of subsistence, and gave them a respectable position in society. Their parishes were neglected ; their flocks unfed, and sinners were strengthened in an evil course by the force of unholy example in those who should have been set for the defence of the truth.

Amongst the ranks of Dissent we also look in vain for evangelical truth and spiritual power, with only a few honourable exceptions, such as Dr. Annesley and a few others. The two thousand Clergymen who had been ejected from the Establishment had passed away, and their descendants were by no means equal to the noble stock from whence they sprang. Many still possessed strong political bias against the hierarchy of the Church ; but this was not compensated for by corresponding spiritual power. With many, Arianism, philosophic speculations, and cold formality were

substituted for that which was true and pure and vital in Christianity.

Thus writes Dr. Guyse in 1729: "The greatest number of Preachers and hearers seem contented to lay Him" (Christ) "aside; and too many there are among us that set themselves against Him. His name is seldom heard of in conversation, unless in a way of strife and debate; or, which is infinitely worse, in a way of contempt, reproach, and blasphemy: and I am persuaded it never entered less than at this day into our practical godliness, into our solemn assemblies, into our dealings with God, into our dependencies on Him, expectations from Him, and devotedness to Him. The present modish turn of religion looks as if we began to think that we have no need of a Mediator; but that all our concerns were managed with God as an absolute God. The religion of nature makes up the darling topics of our age; and the religion of Jesus is valued only for the sake of that, and only so far as it carries on the light of nature, and is a bare improvement of that kind of light. All that is restrictedly Christian, or that is peculiar to Christ,—everything concerning Him that has not its apparent foundation in natural light, or that goes beyond its principles,—is waved, and banished, and despised; and even moral duties themselves, which are essential to the well-being of Christianity, are usually harangued upon without any evangelical turn, or reference to Christ, 'as fruits of righteousness to the praise and glory of God by Him.' They are placed in the room of Christ, are set up independent of Him, and are urged upon principles and with views ineffectual to secure their practice, and more suited to the sentiments and temper of a heathen, than of those that take the whole of their religion from Christ.

"How many sermons may one hear that leave out Christ, both name and thing, and that pay no more regard to Him than if we had nothing to do with Him! What a melancholy symptom, what a threatening omen, is this! Do we not already feel its dismal effects in the growth of infidelity, in the rare instances of conversion work, and in the cold, low, and withering state of religion among the professors of it, beyond what has been known in some

former days ? May not these things be chargeable in great measure on a prevailing disuse of preaching Christ ? and where will they end if the disuse goes on, and little or nothing concerning Him is to be heard among us ? How should all the Ministers of Christ, that heartily love Him, that are concerned for His honour, and for the honour of His religion, as Christians, be affected at these thoughts ! ”

The seats of learning at Oxford and Cambridge, as also many of the Dissenting academies, were lamentably bad. For the most part the rising youth who were being prepared for the sacred office of the ministry in these seminaries were not only destitute of the saving grace of God, but were “ wild and depraved.” The Christian ministry was looked upon as a mere profession, the preparation for which consisted in a small amount of learning without the least restraint or obligation ; so that, unless Providence should go out of the ordinary course, there appeared to be no help from ordinary sources, but to allow error and sin to go on unchecked, until an angry God should arise to “ take vengeance on such a nation as this.” All ordinary and “ regular ” means had been tried, and failed : Popery had failed,—Protestantism had failed,—High Church under the Stuarts had failed,—Puritanism under Cromwell had failed. The Established Church had failed, and Dissenting Churches had failed. Thus to the few praying remnants it appeared as if the religion of Jesus Christ must be banished out of the land. And this must have been the result, had not God interposed. Many have objected to Methodism on the ground of its “ irregularities ; ” but, instead of this being blameworthy, if something had not arisen *out of the ordinary course of things*, judging from the past, the nation must have been handed over to infidelity, licentiousness, and Satan.

When the night is the darkest, and the prospect the saddest, God often interposes. The time of “ man’s extremity ” becomes the time of “ God’s opportunity ; ” “ the day-star arises.” So was it more than eighteen hundred years ago, when the Day-Star arose, and gilded our gloomy hemisphere. So was it again when Dr. Martin Luther appeared from out of the darkness, the leading

spirit and the bright star of the Reformation. He broke up the old order of things, became "irregular," and established a new order of things and course of action. So was it also with the Apostle of experimental religion, John Wesley. God arose from His resting-place; He came forth, setting aside the abodes of learning, "casting down imaginations," removing the "mighty from their seats," and "exalting men of low degree." He brought to nought things that were, and raised from the dust things that were not; that "no flesh should glory in His presence." Thus the irregular and objectionable points of Methodism constitute its highest credentials, and become the very things which attest its origin to be Divine, and stamp it as the work of God. The chief instruments of this great work rise from obscurity; a "few young raw-necks," as they were ironically called, commence and carry on a work which is now affecting every part of the religious community, and extending its influence to the ends of the earth. The Wesleys and Whitefield arise, being prepared of the Lord, and go forth to convert the world. The next part of our duty will be to mark the hand of God in the preparation of these instruments and in sending them forth with their messages of mercy to the sons of men.

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND CONVERSION OF JOHN WESLEY.

JOHN WESLEY was born June 14th, 1703; and, when only about six years old, had a remarkable escape from being burnt to death, his father's rectory at Epworth being consumed in flames. It was thought that an incendiary had set the house on fire. Be that as it may, the family had only time to make their escape in their night clothes; but, after they were collected together, it was found that John was missing. He had been sleeping in a room to which all access was now cut off. In this awful moment the boy awoke, and flew to a window, from which he was rescued by two men, the one standing on the shoulders of the other. A few moments later the roof fell into the flaming mass, in which he must have perished but for this timely rescue. When the good Parson found that his wife and family were all safe, he called upon all present to kneel down and offer thanks to God; saying, "Let the house go; I am rich enough."

If this deliverance was not miraculous, it was so striking as to impress the minds of all concerned with the conviction that God had some special work for John to do. His providential escape impressed him early with the sense of a special mission in the world. His mother shared the impression, and felt herself called by that event to specially consecrate him to God. Two years after it we find her making it the subject of one of her recorded evening meditations. "I do intend," she writes, "to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child, that Thou hast so mercifully provided for, than ever I have been, that I may do my endeavour to instil into his mind the principles of Thy true religion and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success."

At a very early age John Wesley became very serious, and his whole deportment was so correct that he was admitted to the Lord's table when he was only eight years old. It would appear as though, from childhood, he did not knowingly and wickedly depart from God; the special training of his devoted mother, and the godly example of his exemplary father, exerting a constantly beneficial effect upon his spirit and conduct.

He left home for the Charterhouse School in London, some say at eleven years of age, and others at thirteen: probably the latter is right. "There could," says Stevens, "hardly be a misgiving of his moral safety in passing out into the world from the thorough and consecrating discipline of the rectory. His scholarship and life at the Charterhouse showed a character already determinate and exalted. He suffered the usual tyranny of the elder students at the Charterhouse, being deprived by them, most of the time, of his daily portion of animal food; but he preserved his health by a wise prescription of his father, that he should run round the garden three times every day. The institution became endeared to him, and on his yearly visits to London he failed not to walk through its cloisters, and recall the memories of his studious boyhood, memories which were always sunny to his healthful mind."

In 1720, at the age of sixteen, he entered Christ Church College, Oxford. Here, says Dr. Smith, "he displayed the same diligence as at school. He became an excellent classic; attracted notice there for his attainments generally, and especially for his skill in logic; and was at the age of twenty-one a very sensible and acute collegian, a young man of the finest taste, and the most manly and liberal sentiments. His perfect knowledge of the classics gave a smooth polish to his wit, and an air of superior elegance to all his compositions."

This was an admirable preparation for the course of usefulness which God had for him in the world. After his conversion this polished scholar dedicated to God the whole of his attainments, and employed them on His work, being thereby a more accomplished and powerful instrument for good than he could otherwise have been.

Whilst he was diligently pursuing his studies at Oxford, his mind became more and more impressed with Divine things, and an earnest desire to be useful to his fellow men was implanted in his heart. The reading of Bishop Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," Law's "Serious Call," and Thomas à Kempis's "Christian's Pattern," produced a powerful effect upon his mind. These works, however, in addition to having much mysticism about them, were only calculated to place his duty clearly before him, and produce deep sorrow on account of his coming so far short of it, at the same time causing him to put forth every effort in trying to discharge it, without directing his soul to Christ, the Source of comfort, and Author of that salvation which he needed in order to enable him to do what he perceived he ought to do. Consequently, being ignorant of Christ's righteousness, he went about to establish a righteousness of his own; doing this, not designedly, but in reality, although the design was absent. This led to that rigid course of self-denial, fasting, and Christian duty, which caused the epithet "Methodist" to be applied to him and to those who acted with him.

This name was probably given as a term of reproach; but whether it was so or not, no other word could more fitly express the orderly course of Christian action which he and his friends adopted. Every duty had its assigned time and place, and was performed with the utmost exactness,—fastings, prayers, and sacraments,—visiting prisons, hospitals, and the abodes of the poor, &c.; all being done with so much order, method, and punctuality, as to make the whole one continued "methodical" course. In November, 1729, "four young gentlemen of Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, Mr. Charles Wesley, Student of Christ Church, Mr. Morgan, Commoner of Christ Church, and Mr. Kirkman, of Merton College, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them, and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number.

To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazenose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and afterwards Mr. Whitefield.*

Another epithet or nickname given them was that of "The Holy Club." "What will others think of me, or say of me?" was no question with them; but amidst all the surrounding frivolity, ribaldry, and wickedness of college life, they pursued their course of self-denying, arduous duty. "Conscious duty with them was law." A rigid system of self-examination was drawn up for them by John Wesley, which, it has been observed, might have been appended to the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola, had it not mentioned the laws of the Anglican Church. The almost monastic habits of life which they were forming, in which, as Wesley's biographers, Coke and Moore, remark, "the darkness of their minds as to Gospel truth is evident," were counteracted by the benevolent and active sympathies of Morgan. He had visited the prison, and brought back reports which induced the little company systematically to instruct the prisoners once or twice a week. Morgan also came to them from the bedside of a sick person of the town, and they were led to adopt a plan for the regular visitation of the sick.

It is important for us to note, in this place, the course of severe mental conflict through which Wesley and his associates passed before they obtained scriptural views of the plan of salvation by faith alone without the works of the law. In this respect there was great similarity betwixt his course of anxious inquiry and that of Dr. Martin Luther, the Apostle of the Reformation. To us who have the clear light of scriptural truth shining fully upon us, there appears to be little difficulty about the subject. Not so with them: they had to thread their way through the mazes of dark and difficult error in order to find that truth; yea, often to unlearn that which they had already learned; to take off their attention from philosophy, mysticism, and good works, and to fix their minds on Christ alone. "My kingdom is not of this world," and,

* Wesley's Works, vol. viii., p. 348.

“The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,” &c., was language which they understood not. “Christ the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth,” was a doctrine hid in deep mystery to them. How much and how long did Martin Luther search, before he obtained the knowledge of this truth! He fasted, he prayed, he afflicted his body, until life was almost gone, seeking to be saved by “the works of the law,” but all in vain. How long, how sincerely, how earnestly, did Wesley pursue the same path before he found Christ! and the experimental discovery of this truth was the foundation on which the whole superstructure of Methodism has been reared.

Wesley and his associates would have made thorough-going Puseyites; and their earnest minds might have carried them forward until they were fully landed in all the superstitious practices of the Romish Church, as is the case now with England’s Popish Cardinal and many of the Clergy. But High Churchism, with all its ritualism, and parade, and show, and effect, is nothing more than the earnestness of souls wrongly directed: they cannot rest; they have constant disquiet, arising from their not understanding the plan of salvation by simple faith in Christ. Had not Wesley, Whitefield, and others pursued their search to the true and grand result, which we shall briefly record, nothing more than a rigid, icy formalism would have been produced.

These resolute spirits were at length brought into contact with the Moravians, from whom, gradually and slowly, they acquired a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. The manner in which this took place appears accidental; but these apparent “accidents” are part of the arrangements of Infinite Wisdom, wrought out by the hand of Him who sees the end from the beginning, and causes His creatures unconsciously to fulfil His wise purposes.

The Rector of Epworth, John Wesley’s father, as he advanced in life, was anxious, for various reasons, to have his son John for his successor in that living. To this proposal, however, John steadily and perseveringly objected, to the great sorrow of his father and to the damage of the temporal interests of the family. But, in doing this, he knew

not the spirit which influenced him, nor the hand which guided him. His object was to remain at Oxford and assist in preparing young men for the sacred office of the ministry. But God had other work for him to do, and he must be prepared for it in God's own way. At this critical moment a proposal was made to him to go to Georgia as a Missionary, to which he lent a favourable ear. "The Trustees of the new Colony of Georgia were greatly in want of zealous and active Clergymen, both to take care of the spiritual concerns of the settlers, and to teach Christianity to the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood. The Methodists of Oxford appeared likely to supply the desired agents; and Mr. John Wesley was requested to accept an appointment to that station. For a considerable time he hesitated; but, after consulting his mother and other friends, he consented; as did also his brother Charles, who received ordination with an especial reference to this service." * They sailed from Gravesend on Tuesday, October 21st, 1735, accompanied by Mr. Oglethorpe, the Governor of the Colony, Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College, Oxford, and Mr. Charles Delamotte, son of a merchant in London. "Our end in leaving our native country," says Mr. Wesley, "was not to avoid want, (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings,) nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour; but singly this,—to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God."

Dr. Stevens thus describes the voyage, and daily course of procedure on board :

"On the 14th of October, 1735, the party, consisting of the two Wesleys, Messrs. Ingham and Delamotte, left London to embark. They found on board the ship one hundred and twenty-four persons, including twenty-six German Moravians, with their bishop, David Nitschman. John Wesley seems immediately, though informally, to have been recognised as the religious head of the floating community, and his methodical habits prevailed over all around him. The ship became at once a Bethel church and a seminary. The daily course of life among the Methodist party was directed by Wesley: from four till five

* Jackson's "Centenary of Methodism," p. 41.

o'clock in the morning each of them used private prayer; from five till seven they read the Bible together, carefully comparing it with the writings of the earliest Christian ages: at seven they breakfasted; at eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve Wesley usually studied German, and Delamotte Greek, while Charles Wesley wrote sermons, and Ingham instructed the children. At twelve they met to give an account of what each had done since their last meeting, and of what they designed to do before the next. About one they dined; the time from dinner to four was spent in reading to persons on board, a number of whom each of them had taken in charge. At four were the evening prayers, when either the second Lesson of the day was explained, as the first always was in the morning, or the children were catechized and instructed before the congregation. From five to six they again retired for private prayer. From six to seven Wesley read in his state room to two or three of the passengers, and each of the brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven he joined the Germans in their public service, while Ingham was reading between decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight they met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten they went to bed, where, says Wesley, neither the roaring of the sea nor the motion of the ship could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave them.

“Here was practical ‘Methodism’ still struggling in its former process; it was Epworth rectory and Susannah Wesley’s discipline afloat on the Atlantic.”

It was here that these sincere seekers after truth and salvation were first brought into contact with simple spiritual religion, as exhibited in the conduct of the unpretending Moravians who sailed with them. “The great event of the voyage,” says Stevens, “as affecting the history of Methodism, was the illustration of genuine religion which the little band of Moravian passengers gave during a perilous storm. Wesley had observed with deep interest their humble piety in offices of mutual kindness and service, and in patience under occasional maltreatment; but when the storm arose there was an opportunity, he says, of seeing

whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the Psalm with which their service began, the sea broke over the ship, split the mainsail into pieces, and poured in between the decks as if the great deep had already swallowed them up. A terrible alarm and outcry arose among the English, but the Germans calmly sang on. Wesley asked one of them, 'Were you not afraid?' He answered: 'I thank God, no.' 'But were not your women and children?' 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'"

This affords a beautiful illustration of the practical effect of consistent piety on the minds of others, not only upon the ignorant and thoughtless, but also upon the intelligent and serious. John and Charles Wesley found, in the holy lives and cheerful tempers of these modest followers of Christ, that which they had not found in the halls of learning or the churches of their native land.

From the Journal kept during the voyage it is evident that but little interruption to the regular course of things was allowed. Each duty had its assigned time and place, and was performed with the greatest regularity. This proves in a very striking manner the fixed purpose and unwavering resolve of these devoted men. Only those who have been a long voyage can understand fully the *ennui* of daily life on ship-board; the lassitude of body and mind resulting from sea-sickness and heat; or the various inconveniences and annoyances arising from a number of persons being closely packed together on board a small vessel, with the calms and squalls, &c. But these resolute men allowed nothing to turn them aside from the regular course of duty laid down, or stop for one day their onward career. Here on the broad Atlantic was the practical carrying out of those lessons and habits which had been commenced in the Epworth rectory under Susannah Wesley.

On their arrival in America they entered upon their ministerial and pastoral duties with characteristic zeal and energy. But the rigidness and severity of the course they pursued were by no means suited to colonial life, and

quickly brought upon them complicated and harassing trials, which caused them to return homewards in less than two years. Charles Wesley reached England in December, 1736, and John in February, 1738.

The spiritual exercises of John Wesley, as the day of deliverance from darkness drew near, were anxious and distressing. God leads the blind by a way which they know not. He went to America to preach to wandering colonists and convert dark heathens; instead of which he made the humbling discovery that he was not converted himself. As we have already seen, it was by this means that he was brought into company with the Moravians, and by intercourse with them was led to see that he was not saved. Light gradually penetrated into his mind; but, as beam after beam broke in upon his soul, and fold after fold of his darkness was cleared off, he became astonished and confounded at the discoveries that were made. His philosophy, divinity, and self-righteousness opposed the light; but he was too thorough in his pursuit to be driven back by these unwelcome discoveries of his own state. Hear his own language :

“I was ordained Deacon in 1725, and Priest in the year following. But it was many years after this before I was convinced of the great truths above recited. During all that time I was utterly ignorant of the nature and condition of justification. Sometimes I confounded it with sanctification; particularly when I was in Georgia: at other times I had some confused notion about the forgiveness of sin; but then I took it for granted the time of this must be either the hour of death, or the day of judgment.

“I was equally ignorant of the nature of saving faith, apprehending it to mean no more than a firm assent to all the propositions contained in the Old and New Testaments.”

“All the time I was at Savannah I was thus beating the air. Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, which, by a living faith in Him, bringeth salvation ‘to every one that believeth,’ I sought to establish my own righteousness; and so laboured in the fire all my days. I was now properly ‘under the law;’ I knew that ‘the law’ of God

was 'spiritual; I consented to it that it was good.' Yea, 'I delighted in it, after the inner man.' Yet was I 'carnal, sold under sin.' Every day was I constrained to cry out, 'What I do, I allow not: for what I would, I do not; but what I hate, that I do. To will is' indeed 'present with me: but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good which I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. I find a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me:' even 'the law in my members, warring against the law of my mind,' and still 'bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.'

"In this vile, abject state of bondage to sin, I was indeed fighting continually, but not conquering. Before, I had willingly served sin; now it was unwillingly; but still I served it. I fell, and rose, and fell again. Sometimes I was overcome, and in heaviness: sometimes I overcame, and was in joy. For as in the former state I had some foretastes of the terrors of the law, so had I in this, of the comforts of the Gospel. During this whole struggle between nature and grace, which had now continued above ten years, I had many remarkable returns to prayer; especially when I was in trouble: I had many sensible comforts; which are indeed no other than short anticipations of the life of faith. But I was still 'under the law,' not 'under grace:' (the state most who are called Christians are content to live and die in:) for I was only striving with, not freed from, sin: neither had I the witness of the Spirit with my spirit, and indeed could not; for I 'sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law.'"

His Journal on his return voyage bears witness that he was the subject of great searchings of heart, and was deeply afflicted with a "sense of unbelief, pride, irrecollection, and levity of spirit," until he cries out, "Lord, save, or I perish!"

On his arrival in England, God still continued to employ the same instrumentality in leading him to Christ as had already been effectual in teaching him his lost condition as an unpardoned sinner. He had not been many days in England before he met with Peter Böhler, who was on his way from Germany to America. This learned and evan-

gelical divine was as an angel of light to the inquiring mind of Wesley. He was introduced to him at the house of a Dutch friend in London, and lost no opportunity of conversing with him on spiritual subjects, until he left for Carolina in May following. Wesley's true state at this time is best described in his own language :

"Saturday, March 4th, 1738.—I found my brother at Oxford, recovering from his pleurisy ; and with him Peter Böhler ; by whom (in the hand of the great God) I was, on Sunday, the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.

"Immediately it struck into my mind, 'Leave off preaching. How can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?' I asked Böhler, whether he thought I should leave it off or not. He answered, 'By no means.' I asked, 'But what can I preach?' He said, 'Preach faith *till* you have it ; and then, *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith.'

"Accordingly, Monday, 6th, I began preaching this new doctrine, though my soul started back from the work. The first person to whom I offered salvation by faith alone, was a prisoner under sentence of death. His name was Clifford. Peter Böhler had many times desired me to speak to him before. But I could not prevail on myself so to do ; being still (as I had been many years) a zealous assertor of the impossibility of a death-bed repentance."

"Thursday, 23rd.—I met Peter Böhler again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith,—the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by 'the law and the testimony ;' and being confident, that God would hereby show me, whether this doctrine was of God."

"Saturday, April 22nd.—I met Peter Böhler once more. I had now no objection to what he said of the nature of faith ; namely, that it is (to use the words of our Church) 'a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God.' Neither could I deny either the happiness or holiness which he described, as fruits of this living

faith. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God:' and, 'He that believeth hath the witness in himself,' fully convinced me of the former: as, 'Whatsoever is born of God doth not commit sin;' and, 'Whosoever believeth is born of God,' did of the latter. But I could not comprehend what he spoke of an *instantaneous work*. I could not understand how this faith should be given in a moment: how a man could *at once* be thus turned from darkness to light, from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the Scriptures again, touching this very thing, particularly the Acts of the Apostles; but, to my utter astonishment, found scarce any instances there of other than *instantaneous* conversions; scarce any so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the new birth. I had but one retreat left; namely, '*Thus*, I grant, God wrought in the *first* ages of Christianity; but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe He works in the same manner now?'

"But on Sunday, 23rd, I was beat out of this retreat too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses; who testified, God had thus wrought in themselves; giving them in a moment such a faith in the blood of His Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, 'Lord, help Thou my unbelief!'"

To many it would appear unaccountable how God should allow this sincere and earnest seeker after salvation to struggle so much and so long; but it was in order to stave him out of every other refuge, until he should cry out:

"What shall I say Thy grace to move?
 Lord, I am sin,—but Thou art Love.
 I give up every plea beside,
 Lord, I am damn'd, but Thou hast died."

His Deliverance.—The day-star was now beginning to arise in his soul; the day of liberty drew near, and his emancipated spirit was about to take its first bound, and then to pursue its tireless course through the whole of his

long earthly career, and finally to appear before the Throne, giving thanks to God and the Lamb.

In the order of time, Whitefield was the first to find the Saviour. His experience is thus given by Dr. Stevens :

“About the end of the seventh week, after having undergone inexpressible trials by night and day, under the spirit of bondage, God was pleased at length to remove the heavy load, to enable him to lay hold on the cross by a living faith, and by giving him the Spirit of adoption to seal him, as he humbly hoped, even to the day of everlasting redemption. ‘But O!’ he writes, ‘with what joy, joy unspeakable, even joy that was full of glory, was my soul filled, when the weight of sin went off, and an abiding sense of the pardoning love of God, and a full assurance of faith, broke in upon my disconsolate soul! Surely it was the day of my espousals; a day to be had in everlasting remembrance. At first my joys were like a spring tide, and, as it were, overflowed the banks; go where I would, I could not avoid the singing of psalms almost aloud; afterwards they became more settled, and, blessed be God, saving a few casual intervals have abode and increased in my soul ever since.’”

Charles Wesley was the next in order. About this time he had a severe illness, so that his life was in imminent danger. When his sufferings were excruciating, and it was doubtful whether he could survive many hours, he was visited by Böhler. “I asked him,” says Charles Wesley, “to pray for me. He seemed unwilling at first; but beginning faintly, he raised his voice by degrees, and prayed for my recovery with strange confidence.

“Then he took me by the hand, and calmly said, ‘You will not die now.’ I thought within myself, ‘I cannot hold out in this pain till morning.’ He said, ‘Do you hope to be saved?’ I answered, ‘Yes.’ ‘For what reason do you hope to be saved?’ ‘Because I have used my best endeavours to serve God.’ He shook his head, and said no more. I thought him very uncharitable, saying in my heart, ‘What, are not my endeavours a sufficient ground of hope? Would he rob me of my endeavours? I have nothing else to trust to.’”

Mr. Charles Wesley, who was thus offended with the doctrine of free and present salvation from sin by faith in Christ, turned his anxious and prayerful attention to the subject, and was soon led to concur in sentiment with his brother and the devout German that salvation must be by faith. Hitherto John had always taken the lead in matters of a religious nature ; but this order was now reversed. Charles, who had been the last to receive the doctrine in question, was the first to realize its truth in his own experience. On the morning of Whitsunday, May 21st, 1738, having had a second return of his illness, and his brother and some other friends having spent the preceding night in prayer for him, he awoke in earnest hope of soon attaining the object of his desire—the knowledge of God reconciled to him in Christ Jesus.

About nine o'clock, his brother and some friends visited him, and sang a hymn suited to the day. When they had left him, he betook himself to prayer. Soon afterwards one of his religious acquaintance said to him, in a very impressive manner, "Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities." The words went to his heart, and animated him with confidence ; and in reading various passages of Scripture, he was enabled to trust in Christ, as set forth to be a propitiation for his sins through faith in His blood ; and received that peace, and attained that rest in God, which he so earnestly sought.

Only three days elapsed between Mr. Charles Wesley's obtaining the pardon of his sins through faith in Christ and his brother John's finding the same blessing. John Wesley's own account is as follows :

"Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, I had continual sorrow and heaviness in my heart : something of which I described, in the broken manner I was able, in the following letter to a friend :—

" ' O why is it, that so great, so wise, so holy a God will use such an instrument as me ! Lord, "let the dead bury their dead !" But wilt Thou send the dead to raise the dead ? Yea, Thou sendest whom Thou *wilt* send, and showest mercy by whom Thou *wilt* show mercy ! Amen !

Be it then according to Thy will ! If Thou speak the word, Judas shall cast out devils.

“ ‘I feel what you say, (though not enough,) for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole law of God is holy, just, and good. I know every thought, every temper of my soul, ought to bear God’s image and superscription. But how am I fallen from the glory of God ! I feel that “I am sold under sin.” I know, that I too deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations : and having no good thing in me, to atone for them, or to remove the wrath of God. All my works, my righteousness, my prayers, need an atonement for themselves. So that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy, I am unholy. God is a consuming fire : I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed.

“ ‘Yet I hear a voice (and is it not the voice of God ?) saying, “Believe, and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth is passed from death unto life. God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.”

“ ‘O let no one deceive us by vain words, as if we had already attained this faith ! By its fruits we shall know. Do we already feel “peace with God,” and “joy in the Holy Ghost ?” Does “His Spirit bear witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God ?” Alas, with mine He does not. Nor, I fear, with yours. O Thou Saviour of men, save us from trusting in anything but Thee ! Draw us after Thee ! Let us be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with all peace and joy in believing ; and let nothing separate us from Thy love, in time or in eternity.’ ”

His prayer was heard. On Wednesday “evening,” says he, “I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther’s Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation ; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my*

sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.

“I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me, and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart.”

This blessed result is as clear as human nature can experience or human language express. Thus at the age of thirty-five, and after twenty-five years' pursuit, he found that Saviour “of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write.” How long the search! How severe the struggle! How rich the reward! Eternity alone, and the eternal happiness of tens of thousands of redeemed, saved immortals, will be able to declare it. Angels may be jubilant, as a new era of the Church and the world has commenced. The Messengers of the Cross are now to go forth, proclaiming throughout the world the glad news of a free, full, and present salvation through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Before proceeding further, it is worthy of special note that the plan of salvation by faith in Christ alone was made known to the Wesleys and Whitefield by the Moravians; and thus was laid the foundation of that great work, Wesleyan Methodism, which has extended its influence through many parts of the world, and has to a great extent also pervaded other Christian denominations; and which must, in its ultimate results, go on until the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Thus the ways of God are far above out of sight, and His plans deeper than the plummet-line of man's shortsightedness can sound.

More than three hundred years had passed away since the Council of Constance had broken faith with the Bohemian martyrs, Jerome and Huss; and contrary to the solemn engagement of a “safe-conduct” had these two worthies been burnt to death, the Papists hoping thereby to extinguish the first lights of the Reformation. But they succeeded not. A long, dark night followed; and when at length the persecuted descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Christians were driven from their own land,

Peter Christian found an asylum on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, in Germany, gathered together the remnant, and founded the Church of Herrnhut, "the Watch of the Lord," from which the light has penetrated to every part of the globe, and more especially was the means of leading the Wesleys and others to Christ, and of kindling a fire which shall never be extinguished.

"The 'Reformers before the Reformation' had not, then, laboured in vain. The Bohemian sufferers at Constance had verified the maxim so often consecrated by the tears and thanksgivings of the faithful, that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.' There gleam to-day on the darkest skies of the pagan world reflections of light from the martyr fires of Constance; and Herrnhut, 'the Watch of the Lord,' has become a watch-light to the world. From this people—so remarkable and fruitful in their history—was Methodism not only to copy much of its internal discipline, but to receive the impulse which was yet necessary to start it on its appointed course. Wesley had already learned much from them. In their resignation amid the storms of the Atlantic, he had seen a piety which he possessed not himself. On his landing in Georgia, the doctrine of the 'Witness of the Spirit,' which had dawned upon his mind from the Scriptures, while reading Jeremy Taylor at Oxford, was brought home to his conscience by the appeal of Spangenberg. His unavailing asceticism had been rebuked there by their more cheerful practical piety; his unsuccessful, because defective, preaching, by their more evangelical and more useful labours; and his rigid ecclesiasticism by the apostolic simplicity of their Church councils. And now, hardly had he landed in England from Georgia when witnesses for the truth, from Herrnhut, met him again with the appeal: 'This is the way, walk ye in it.'"

In fine, John Wesley, *spiritually*, was *not* the child of the Established Church of England, but of the Moravian Church; and therefore the Church of England cannot claim him as her spiritual child.

CHAPTER IV.

OPENING THEIR COMMISSION, AND SIGNS FOLLOWING.

BEFORE tracing the manner in which the Wesleys and Whitefield and their coadjutors opened their commission, and the signs which followed, we must notice the baptism of fire, by which they were prepared for their great work. It is thus described by Dr. Stevens :

“Denied the city pulpits, the brothers went not only to the ‘Societies’ and prisons, but to and fro in the country, preaching almost daily. Whitefield was needed to lead them into more thorough and more necessary ‘irregularities.’ He arrived in London, December 8th, 1738. Wesley hastened to greet him, and on the 12th ‘God gave us,’ he writes, ‘once more to take sweet counsel together.’ The mighty preacher who had stirred the whole metropolis a year before, now met the same treatment as his Oxford friends. In three days five churches were denied him. Good, however, was to come out of this evil. He also had recourse now to the ‘Societies,’ and his ardent soul caught new zeal from their simple devotions as from his new trials. Wesley describes a scene at one of these assemblies, which reminds us of the preparatory Pentecostal baptism of fire, by which the Apostles were ‘endued with power from on high,’ for their mission. He says, January 1st, 1739, that Messrs. Hall, Kinchin, Ingham, Whitefield, and his brother Charles were present with him at a love-feast in Fetter Lane, with about sixty of their brethren. About three in the morning, as they were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon them, inso-much that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as they had recovered a little from the awe and amazement which the presence of the Divine Majesty had inspired, they broke out with one voice, ‘We praise Thee, O God : we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.

Whitefield exclaims: 'It was a Pentecostal season indeed.' And he adds, respecting these 'Society meetings,' that 'sometimes whole nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as with new wine, and often have I seen them overwhelmed with the Divine Presence, and cry out, "Will God indeed dwell with men upon earth? How dreadful is this place! This is no other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven!"' In this manner did the three evangelists begin together the memorable year which was afterward to be recognised as the epoch of Methodism. On the 5th Whitefield records an occasion which foreshadowed the future. A 'conference' was held at Islington with seven Ministers, 'despised Methodists,' concerning many things of importance. They continued in fasting and prayer till three o'clock, and then parted *'with a full conviction that God was about to do great things among us.'*"

In such scenes as these, the Apocalyptic vision was being literally fulfilled: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell upon the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to Him; for the hour of His judgment is come: and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." (Rev. xiv. 6, 7.)

Whitefield was the first of the three to find the Saviour, and to throw off the restraints of ecclesiastical conventionalism. It appeared as though his bold spirit and impassioned eloquence were required to break down the barriers of extreme Church order. Going into the streets and lanes to preach, he willingly "submitted to be more vile." The more calm and methodical Wesley had to be led on, until by degrees he was brought to see the path of duty. Whitefield opened his commission of out-door preaching at Bristol, where he had crowds to hear him; and he soon called Wesley to his aid.

"He was thus employed," says Mr. Jackson, "when he received a letter from his friend, Mr. Whitefield, recently returned from America, and now in Bristol, earnestly pressing him to come to that city without delay. On his arrival,

he says, 'I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way, of preaching in the fields, of which he set me the example on the Sunday; having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church.' On the following day, Mr. Whitefield having left Bristol, Mr. Wesley says, 'At four in the afternoon, I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city to about three thousand people.'"

"On his return to London, in June following, he accompanied Mr. Whitefield to Blackheath, where about twelve or fourteen thousand people were assembled to hear the Word. At Mr. Whitefield's request, Mr. Wesley preached in his stead; and afterwards for many years addressed similar, and even larger, multitudes in Moorfields and at Kennington Common, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other parts of England, as also in Wales and Ireland."

His weekly course of labour was this: "Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening I expounded a portion of Scripture to one or more of the Societies. On Monday, in the afternoon, I preached abroad near Bristol; on Tuesday, at Bath and Five Mile Hill alternately; on Wednesday, at Baptist Mills; every other Thursday, near Pensford; every other Friday, in another part of Kingswood; on Saturday in the afternoon, and Sunday morning, on the bowling green; (which lies near the middle of the city;) on Sunday at eleven, near Hanham Mount; at two, at Clifton; and at five, at Rose Green. And hitherto, as my days, so my strength has been."

Mr. Charles Wesley also entered on the same course with heroic valour, which soon brought him into difficulties. "During the continued stay of his brother at Bristol," observes Dr. Smith, "Charles was neither idle nor inattentive to the manner of his proceeding, and to the great work which was being accomplished by his instrumentality. At Broad Oaks in Essex, Thaxted, and some other places, Charles preached both in churches and in the open air with great success.

“In consequence of these proceedings, the heads of the Church appear to have entertained serious thoughts of proceeding to extreme measures against Whitefield and the two Wesleys. On Thursday, the 19th of June, Charles Wesley, with the Vicar of Bexley, appeared at Lambeth, on the summons of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to answer a complaint which appears to have been made by some third party (probably some of the parishioners) as to Mr. Charles Wesley’s frequent preaching in that parish. On this occasion the Archbishop significantly observed to him, that he should ‘not proceed to excommunication YET.’ Although this threat did not, at the time, greatly disconcert or distress the pious young Minister to whom it was addressed, he afterwards felt it severely ; but having convinced himself that this uneasiness arose from the fear of man, he took Mr. Whitefield’s advice, and, on the following Sunday, boldly went forth into Moorfields, and preached the Gospel of Christ to near ten thousand hearers.

“It required a mind of more than ordinary vigour, even with the aid of Divine grace, to sustain the peculiar and conflicting feelings which Charles Wesley’s engagements at this time must have excited. On the Thursday before the Sabbath just referred to, he was at Lambeth Palace, and was there threatened with excommunication. On Sunday he preached in the morning to ten thousand persons in Moorfields : in the forenoon he attended Divine service, and received the sacrament at St. Paul’s cathedral ; in the afternoon he preached at Newington Butts, and went directly from the pulpit to Kennington Common, where he addressed multitudes upon multitudes in the name of the Lord ; and in the evening he attended a Moravian love-feast in Fetter Lane, where he felt as though in one of the primitive Churches. On the following Sunday he preached with great boldness, in his turn, at St. Mary’s, before the University of Oxford, choosing for his subject the leading doctrine of all Protestant Churches, justification by faith. The amount of opposition which these godly efforts called forth, may be estimated by the fact, that on the Sabbath before mentioned, as he was walking to his afternoon appointment, he crossed an open field on his way to Ken-

nington, and, whilst doing so, was seen by the owner of the field, a Mr. Goter, who threatened to prosecute him for a trespass. This threat he carried into effect, and a few days afterwards Mr. Charles Wesley was served with a writ on this account, and had to pay ten pounds for the trespass, and nine pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence for taxed costs in the suit. The injured Minister endorsed the receipt with the significant words, '*To be re-judged IN THAT DAY;*' words which will as certainly be verified, as was the threat of the petty tyrant."*

We now have these three worthies fairly committed to preach Christ crucified, and to "call upon all men everywhere to repent." This they do with dauntless courage and wonderful effect; thousands attend their ministry, and a very extensive religious awakening takes place. They have now set themselves at liberty, have drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard, and have boldly entered on this career of duty, leaving the results with God. Here is no defined plan, no calculation about consequences, but the fearless entry upon a course of plain duty. "What wouldst Thou have me to do?" has been the inquiry. When the will of God is made plain, that is enough; their feet tread, not only swiftly, but safely; there is no timidity, no vacillation, no question about the care of the flesh; but straightforward, honest, fearless discharge of acknowledged duty.

We have now before us the chief instruments raised up by God, for reviving and extending true religion, and spreading scriptural holiness throughout the land, and, ultimately, throughout the world. These instruments were differently constituted and differently prepared, but bore the marks of Him "who filleth all in all." That Being who is "Head over all things to His Church" took these men of different mental capacities and intellectual and religious training, together with their several gifts and graces, bowing the whole to His sceptre, and using the whole for His glory.

John Wesley was highly cultivated, cool, clear, and persevering; Charles Wesley was poetic, energetic, and

* Dr. George Smith's "History of Wesleyan Methodism," pp. 178, 179.

impassioned; Whitefield was bold, eloquent, and powerful. These were "the first three," and they were all fired with self-sacrificing love to God, and zeal for the salvation of men. The lay Preachers who from the force of circumstances were brought to labour with them, and became their helpers in the Lord, were not equally educated, but were eminently prepared of God for carrying on His work. They possessed clear knowledge of the Word of God, were truly converted, and were endowed with strong sense and a disposition to labour and suffer for the good of others. All "had tarried at Jerusalem until they were endowed with power from on high;" and being "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," and taking fire from the holy altar, their arms and hands being made strong by the power of the mighty "God of Jacob," they went forth, like winged angels of light, with a speed and swiftness which made them almost ubiquitous; they performed prodigies of moral valour, and endured fatigues, and discharged duties, such as had not been heard of since the days of the Apostles. They were "men to be wondered at," "the Lord working with them, and signs following."

The extremities of the land were soon penetrated. London and Bristol were the first centres of operation; but quickly Newcastle in the north, and Cornwall in the south-west, were visited by them, and tens of thousands heard the everlasting Gospel preached. They conducted their services in public buildings, or private houses; on the house-top, or in the open field; in the narrow street, or on the broad common; anywhere, everywhere, in this vast temple of God, it mattered not; they had a message to deliver, and they were straitened until they had proclaimed it, and when they had done thus in one place, they hastened to another, and delivered it there. They were men of one business, and of one aim; all the powers of their souls were absorbed and centred in it, and all the powers of their bodies became the willing servants of their burning souls. They thought of nothing else; they talked of nothing else; they lived and laboured for nothing else.

The doctrines they taught were as old as the New Testament, but new to the tens of thousands who heard them

for the first time. These doctrines had either been buried for ages, or been obscured amidst the ceremonials of a State Church ; and now that they were clearly exhibited to view, they shone as light out of darkness, and possessed a freshness and power which astonished, captivated, and subdued all who heard them.

That mighty results must quickly follow was only what might be fairly calculated upon. Some men, who undertook the office of prophets, prognosticated that it was only a wild enthusiastic flame which would soon be extinguished ; but no ! it was a torch lighted at the eternal Sun, never to be dimmed, until absorbed in endless day. They declared that these madmen would soon weary in their course, and, being offended, tire and faint ; but no ! they tired not until the weary wheels of life stood still in death ; and in the case of John Wesley the wheels turned round many times in the fifty years which intervened before his death ; but then a thousand more are set in motion, and they and their successors are not to cease their circles until the globe is encompassed, and the earth ceases to revolve, fleeing before the face of Him who sits upon the throne, when death shall be swallowed up in victory.

Let us notice a few of these results as chronicled by competent witnesses. To a gentleman who had requested some information on the subject Mr. Wesley writes : “ Few persons have lived long in the west of England who have not heard of the colliers of Kingswood, a people famous, from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God nor regarding man ; so ignorant of the things of God, that they seemed but one remove from beasts that perish, and, therefore, utterly without the desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it.

“ Many last winter used tauntingly to say of Mr. Whitefield, ‘ If he will convert heathens, why does not he go to the colliers of Kingswood ? ’ In the spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of public worship, he went after them into their own ‘ wilderness, to seek and save that which was lost.’ When he was called away, others went into ‘ the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in.’ And, by the grace of God, their

labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally led thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They 'do not cry, neither strive;' and hardly is 'their voice heard in the streets,' or indeed in their own wood, unless when they are at their usual evening diversion, singing praise unto God their Saviour."

As early as 1740 we have the following record of Charles Wesley's labours: "He passed to Evesham, Westcot, Oxford, and other places, preaching, and withstanding the clamours of the people, till he arrived again in London, where the Foundry, Moorfields, and Kennington Common were his arenas. While in the city he was tireless also in pastoral labours, devoting three hours daily to 'conferences' and to the 'bands.' In June, 1740, he was again abroad among the rural towns, accompanied by his faithful assistant, Thomas Maxfield. He preached in Bexley, Blendon, Bristol, and Kingswood. At the latter place he was especially refreshed by the good results of the Methodist labours. Methodism had already commenced those demonstrations of its efficacy among the demoralized masses which have since commanded for it the respect of men who have questioned its merits in all other respects. 'O what simplicity,' he exclaims, 'is in this child-like people! A spirit of contrition and love ran through them. Here the seed has fallen upon good ground.' And again, on the next Sabbath, he writes: 'I went to learn Christ among our colliers, and drank into their spirit. O that our London brethren would come to school to Kingswood! God knows their poverty; but they are rich, and daily entering into rest, without first being brought into confusion. Their souls truly wait still upon God, in the way of His ordinances. Ye many masters, come, learn Christ of these outcasts: for know, "except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot

enter into the kingdom of heaven.”’ He questions whether Herrnhut could afford a better example of Christian simplicity and purity ; and yet these reclaimed colliers were repelled from the Lord’s Supper by most of the regular Clergy of the churches of Bristol, because their reformation had been effected by the ‘irregular’ labours of the Methodists.”

John Wesley preaching at Epworth on his father’s tombstone presents a touching scene, which is thus sketched by Dr. Stevens : “ On his return he passed rapidly through many towns, preaching daily. He stopped at an inn in Epworth, the parish of his father and his own birthplace. The Curate, who was a drunkard, refused him the pulpit. David Taylor, Lady Huntingdon’s servant, was with him, and announced, as the congregation retired from the church, that Wesley would preach in the graveyard in the afternoon. He accordingly stood upon his father’s tombstone, and preached to such a congregation as Epworth had never seen before. For one week he daily took his stand above the ashes of his father, and ‘cried aloud to the earnestly attentive congregations.’ He must have deeply felt the impressive associations of the place, but paused not to record his emotions. His one great work of preaching, preaching day and night, seemed wholly to absorb him. His hearers, however, felt the power of his word and of the scene. God bowed their hearts, he says, and on every side, as with one accord, they lifted up their voices and wept ; several dropped down as dead. A gentleman came to hear him who boasted that he was of no religion, and had not been in a church for thirty years. The striking scene of the churchyard could probably alone have brought him to hear Wesley. He was smitten under the sermon, and when it was ended stood like a statue, looking up to the heavens. Wesley asked : ‘ Are you a sinner ? ’ ‘ Sinner enough,’ he replied, with a broken voice, and remained gazing upward till his friends pressed him into his carriage and took him home. Ten years later Wesley saw him, and was agreeably surprised to find him strong in faith, though fast failing in body. For some years, he said, he had been rejoicing in God without either doubt or fear, and was now waiting

for the welcome hour when he should depart and be with Christ.”

These are only a few instances, selected for the purpose of showing the great results which attended and followed the labours of these devoted men; results which were immediate, and which bore the distinct impress of God's own hand.

CHAPTER V.

EXPULSION OF THE WESLEYS FROM THE PULPITS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH, AND FORMATION OF THE UNITED SOCIETIES.

How was this “irregular” course of action received by the Clergy of the Established Church, and what were the consequences? The immediate result was, ejection from the churches, and, in many instances, direct personal persecution. It has already been pointed out, how fine an opportunity was here given for making the Established Church thoroughly efficient by incorporating into it the new spiritual life and tireless vigour of these men of God; but the opportunity was lost; many of the best Churchmen, both lay and clerical, have since seen the error, and would have been glad to rectify it, but it was too late. Many would now rejoice if some comprehensive scheme could be devised; and some efforts have been made in that direction, but in vain; the difficulties in the way are now too formidable to be overcome, and, as will be seen, *the third* stage of departure from the Established Church was consummated.

How short-sighted, as well as wicked, is man, when he seeks by his own contrivances, and by the use of unlawful means, to destroy the work of God! A great work of God had broken out; but the Clergy, instead of fostering it, sought, first by ejecting these Ministers from their pulpits, and afterwards by direct persecution, to destroy it. The result has proved how utterly they failed. The quotations given will show how strong and how tireless was the opposition of the Episcopal hierarchy. The first (from Dr. Smith) relates to Charles Wesley.

“Charles Wesley, as already noticed, had accepted the curacy of Islington, but had entered on the duties of that office only by private arrangement with the Vicar, as the Bishop never gave his sanction to the appointment. The

Churchwardens were soon offended with his ministrations, and were determined to get rid of him. At first they confined their opposition to insult, and met him in the vestry before the commencement of service, and requested a sight of the Bishop's licence, which they knew he did not possess. He meekly endured this conduct. They then proceeded to the most abusive language, and told him that 'he was full of the devil.' Still the pious Minister proceeded on his way, 'bearing ill, and doing well.' These violent officials, however, were determined to expel the object of their dislike from the church; they accordingly employed men to take possession of the pulpit stairs, and to push him back when he attempted to ascend. Afterward, notwithstanding the appeals of gentlemen of the highest respectability, they themselves did this, in the face of the whole congregation. This violence being continued, the Vicar, who was a good man, but lacked firmness, gave way to the storm, and the case was laid before the Bishop of London, who justified the Churchwardens in the course they had taken. Charles Wesley had in consequence to retire from his curacy, and seek some other field of labour."

These proceedings only demonstrated the intense enmity which actuated these opposers; but let the reader observe, they were not the ebullition of an ignorant mob, but were the acts of the "*Churchwardens*;" and the Vicar and Bishop, who should have protected him, declined so to do.

Before Whitefield went to America, he had been unboundedly popular; the churches at Bristol and other places were crowded; thousands hung upon his eloquence with delight, and almost with rapture. But no sooner had he returned, and entered upon his "irregular" course, than the churches were closed against him also. "He went to Bristol," says Stevens, "the ancient city which had formerly received him with enthusiasm. The churches were open to him at his arrival, but in a fortnight every door was shut, except that of Newgate prison; and this, also, was soon after closed against him, by the authority of the Mayor. Not far from Bristol lies Kingswood, a place which has since become noted in the history of Methodism. It was formerly a royal chase, but its forests had mostly fallen.

and it was now a region of coal mines, and inhabited by a population which is described as lawless and brutal, worse than heathens, and differing as much from the people of the surrounding country in dialect as in appearance. There was no church among them, and none nearer than the suburbs of Bristol, three or four miles distant. Whitefield found here an unquestionable justification of field preaching, and on Saturday, February 17th, 1739, he crossed the Rubicon, and virtually led the incipient Methodism across it, by the extraordinary irregularity of preaching in the open air. Standing upon a mount, he proclaimed the truth to about two hundred degraded and astonished colliers. He took courage from the reflection that he was imitating the example of Christ, who had a mountain for His pulpit, and the heavens for a sounding-board; and who, when His Gospel was refused by the Jews, sent His servants into the highways and hedges. 'Blessed be God,' he writes, 'that the ice is now broke, and I have now taken the field. Some may censure me, but is there not a cause? Pulpits are denied, and the poor colliers are ready to perish for lack of knowledge.' "

Posterity has endorsed his decision, admired his zeal, and applauded the results. In modern times *Bishops* and *Clergymen* have in some instances been *equally irregular*.

Mr. John Wesley was not to be more favoured. Having adopted the same course, he had to submit to similar treatment. After his return from Georgia, he says: "I was in haste to retire to Oxford, and bury myself in my beloved obscurity; but I was detained in London, week after week, by the Trustees for the colony of Georgia. In the mean time, I was continually importuned to preach in one and another church; and that not only morning, afternoon, and night, on Sunday, but on week-days also. As I was lately come from a far country, vast multitudes flocked together; but, in a short time, partly because of those unwieldy crowds, partly because of my unfashionable doctrine, I was excluded from one and another church, and, at length, shut out of all! Not daring to be silent, after a short struggle between honour and conscience, I made a virtue

of necessity, and preached in the middle of Moorfields. Here were thousands upon thousands, abundantly more than any church could contain ; and numbers among them who never went to any church or place of public worship at all. More and more of them were cut to the heart, and came to me all in tears, inquiring with the utmost eagerness, what they must do to be saved."

" Things were in this posture, when I was told I must preach no more in this, and this, and another church ; the reason was usually added without reserve, ' Because you preach such doctrines.' So much the more those who could not hear me there flocked together when I was at any of the Societies ; where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain.

" But after a time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England, which I had often done in a warmer climate ; namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first at Bristol, where the Society rooms were exceeding small, and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all ; afterwards, in or near London.

" And I cannot say I have ever seen a more awful sight, than when, on Rose Green, or the top of Hannam Mount, some thousands of people were calmly joined together in solemn waiting upon God, while

' They stood, and under open air adored
The God who made both air, earth, heaven, and sky.'

And whether they were listening to His word with attention still as night, or were lifting up their voice in praise as the sound of many waters, many a time have I been constrained to say in my heart, ' How dreadful is this place ! This ' also ' is no other than the house of God ! This is the gate of heaven ! '

" Be pleased to observe : (1.) That I was forbidden, as by a general consent, to preach in any church, (though not by any judicial sentence,) ' for preaching such doctrine.' This was the open, avowed cause ; there was at that time no other, either real or pretended, except that the people

crowded so. (2.) That I had no desire or design to preach in the open air, till after this prohibition. (3.) That when I did, as it was no matter of choice, so neither of premeditation. There was no scheme at all previously formed, which was to be supported thereby; nor had I any other end in view than this,—to save as many souls as I could. (4.) Field-preaching was therefore a sudden expedient, a thing submitted to, rather than chosen; and therefore submitted to, because I thought preaching even thus better than not preaching at all: First, in regard to my own soul, because, ‘a dispensation of the Gospel being committed to me,’ I did not dare ‘not to preach the Gospel;’ Secondly, in regard to the souls of others, whom I everywhere saw ‘seeking death in the error of their life.’”

Thus were Wesley and his coadjutors ejected from the churches, and cast forth upon the world, which thenceforward became their “parish.” How cogent and how scriptural were the reasons which induced them thus to act! A dispensation of the Gospel was committed to them; and woe to them, if they preached not that Gospel! Mr. Watson’s eloquent summing up is as follows:

“That great public attention should be excited by these extraordinary and novel proceedings, and that the dignitaries of the Church, and the advocates of stillness and order, should take the alarm at them, as ‘doubting whereunto this thing might grow,’ were inevitable consequences. A doctrine so obsolete, that on its revival it was regarded as new and dangerous, was now publicly proclaimed as the doctrine of the Apostles and Reformers; the consciousness of the forgiveness of sins was professed by many, and enforced as the possible attainment of all; several Clergymen of talents and learning, which would have given influence to any cause, endued with mighty zeal, and with a restless activity, instead of settling in parishes, were preaching in various churches and private rooms, and to vast multitudes in the open air, alternately in the metropolis, and at Bristol, Oxford, and the interjacent places. They alarmed the careless, by bringing before them the solemnities of the last judgment; they explained the spirituality of that law upon which the self-righteous

trusted for salvation, and convinced them that the justification of man was by the grace of God alone through faith; and they roused the dozing adherents of mere forms, by teaching, that true religion implies a change of the whole heart wrought by the Holy Ghost. With equal zeal and earnestness, they checked the pruriency of the Calvinistic system, as held by many Dissenters, by insisting that the law which cannot justify was still the rule of life, and the standard of holiness to all true believers; and taught that mere doctrinal views of evangelical truth, however correct, were quite as vain and unprofitable as Pharisaism and formality, when made a substitute for vital faith, spirituality, and practical holiness. All this zeal was supported and made more noticeable by the moral elevation of their character. Their conduct was scrupulously hallowed; their spirit, gentle, tender, and sympathizing; their courage, bold and undaunted; their patience, proof against all reproach, hardships, persecutions; their charities to the poor abounded to the full extent of all their resources; their labours were wholly gratuitous; and their wonderful activity, and endurance of the fatigues of rapid travelling, seemed to destroy the distance of place, and to give them a sort of ubiquity in the vast circuit which they had then adopted as the field of their labours. For all these reasons they 'were men to be wondered at,' even in the infancy of their career; and as their ardour was increased by the effects which followed,—the conversion of great numbers to God, of which the most satisfactory evidence was afforded,—it disappointed those who anticipated that their zeal would soon cool, and that, 'shorn of their strength,' by opposition, reproach, and exhausting labours, they would become 'like other men.'"

As time rolled on, we might have supposed that a change for the better would have taken place; but, instead of this, persecution became more intense and systematic, and continued, with more or less vigour, until the close of Wesley's long and honoured career; so that one of the last draughts of suffering he had to drink was, to find the Bishops denying his people the benefits of the Toleration Act, and compelling them to have their places of worship licensed

as Dissenting Meeting-houses. One of Wesley's latest letters—a pathetic letter it is—refers to this subject. It is addressed to one of the Bishops, and is as follows:—

“MY LORD,

“It may seem strange, that one who is not acquainted with your Lordship, should trouble you with a letter. But I am constrained to do it: I believe it is my duty both to God and your Lordship. And I must speak plain; having nothing to hope or fear in this world, which I am on the point of leaving.”

“The Methodists, in general, my Lord, are members of the Church of England. They hold all her doctrines, attend her service, and partake of her sacraments. They do not willingly do harm to any one, but do what good they can to all. To encourage each other herein, they frequently spend an hour together in prayer and mutual exhortation. Permit me then to ask, *Cui bono?* ‘For what reasonable end’ would your Lordship drive these people out of the Church? Are they not as quiet, as inoffensive, nay, as pious as any of their neighbours? except, perhaps, here and there a hair-brained man, who knows not what he is about. Do you ask, ‘Who drives them out of the Church?’ Your Lordship does; and that in the most cruel manner; yea, and the most disingenuous manner. They desire a licence to worship God according to their own conscience. Your Lordship refuses it, and then punishes them for not having a licence! So your Lordship leaves them only this alternative, ‘Leave the Church, or starve.’ And is it a Christian, yea, a Protestant Bishop, that so persecutes his own flock? I say, *persecutes*; for it is persecution to all intents and purposes. You do not burn them, indeed, but you starve them. And how small is the difference! And your Lordship does this under colour of a vile, execrable law, not a whit better than that *De Hæretico comburendo*. So persecution, which is banished out of France, is again countenanced in England!

“O my Lord, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, for pity's sake, suffer the poor people to enjoy their religious, as well as civil, liberty! I am on the brink of eternity! Perhaps so is your Lordship too! How soon may you also be called to give an account of your stewardship to the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls! May He enable both you and me to do it with joy! So prays, my Lord,

“Your Lordship's dutiful Son and Servant.”

As a writer in the "London Quarterly" observes, "The effect of the policy pursued in this case by those who represented the Church of England, was to force both Preachers and people to be licensed under the Toleration Act. Thus were Methodists driven to become, in legal construction, Protestant Nonconformists. After eighty years Churchmen are now seeking to reverse what was then done, not by Methodists, but by their predecessors."

But in South Africa ignorant natives are told that John Wesley was a Churchman, and that the Methodists are renegades; and thus, without any appeal, the whole of them are claimed as the rightful property of the Established Church. "When all this is borne in mind, and when it is also remembered that the Bishops and most of the Clergy repelled, or at least declined, the overtures of the Methodists from the first; that some of them insulted and drove away from the Lord's table, and sometimes even from their churches, both Preachers and people, not excepting the Wesleys themselves; that no such efforts as now, a century too late, are imagined and projected for including Methodism, with its itinerancy, and its living energy, within the pale of the Church of England, were made during Wesley's life, or were for a moment entertained, although they would have precisely coincided with Wesley's views: it will then be understood how ignorant as well as how unjust a thing it is, how childish as well as narrow and bigoted it must appear to Wesleyans, to argue that, as true followers of John Wesley, the Methodists of to-day are bound to return to the Established Church! Such arguments can only excite the wonder and the pity of manly Methodists. They may have influence with the feeble-minded and ill-informed, with a few dependent, depressed, and ignorant rustics, or with effeminate aspirants for a certain social recognition, which they have not character enough otherwise to obtain, but which, it is imagined, the passport of the Clergy can confer; but they can never make an impression on the body and soul of Methodism." *

* "London Quarterly Review," 1867, p. 285.

FORMATION OF THE UNITED SOCIETIES.

Another step of departure from the Established Church was, the formation of the United Societies. The persons awakened and reformed by the powerful preaching of Wesley and his fellow labourers were gathered and joined in "Classes," that they might be preserved. The foundation of Classes and the organization of a "Society" did not necessarily involve departure from the Established Church; nor was it designed to lead to this result by Wesley. His design was, that it should be a Society within the Church, for the purpose of promoting the spiritual life of that Church; an "*imperium in imperio*." In this, he looked not into the future, neither did he calculate future contingent consequences. What urged him was, that it was a *felt want*, and was calculated to advance the spiritual prosperity of those concerned. The want had been created by the earnest preaching of these zealous men; and, like a wise master-builder, he looked out for such agency as the want demanded. Hence the origin of Class Leaders and Class Meetings. The origin of Class Meetings is thus given by John Wesley himself: "In the latter end of the year 1739 eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did one or two more the next day) that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together, which from thenceforward they did every week, namely, on Thursday, in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them, (for their number increased daily,) I gave those advices, from time to time, which I judged most needful for them; and we always concluded our meeting with prayer suited to their several necessities.

"This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, and then in other places. Such a Society is no other than a company of men having the form and seeking the power

of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."

The office of Class Leader arose from the inability of Mr. Wesley to meet personally all those anxious inquirers who sought spiritual advice and counsel. He therefore selected and appointed one of the most spiritual and well informed persons, to meet (about) twelve others, and to take the spiritual oversight of them. This office was not confined to men, but females of equal qualification were alike eligible for it. Thus was created an order of officers in the infant Church, which has not only continued to the present day, but has been one great cause of the progress, stability, and success of Methodism. It is the business of the Leader, as it is stated in the "Rules of the Society,"

"I. To see each person in his Class, once a week at least, in order to inquire how their souls prosper ;

"To advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require ;

"To receive what they are willing to give towards the support of the Gospel :

"II. To meet the Ministers and Stewards of the Society once a week, in order

"To inform the Minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reproved ;

"To pay to the Stewards what they have received of their several Classes in the week preceding ; and

"To show their account of what each person has contributed.

"4. There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these Societies, namely, 'a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.' But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation, by," &c.

Then follow the proofs which should be given by all who have this desire ; viz., on the one hand, by refraining from all things opposed to the Gospel ; and on the other, by

performing all Christian duties. These plain and scriptural "Rules" close with the following paragraph :

"These are the General Rules of our Societies: all which we are taught of God to observe, even in His written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know His Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they that must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways: we will bear with him for a season. But then, if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls."

There is a beautiful simplicity and adaptation about the whole of this arrangement,—nothing foreign, nothing strained,—nothing far-fetched; no cumbrous round of duties or ceremonies, on the one hand; no indifferent neglect, on the other; no wild extravagance of a heated imagination; no mystery; no asceticism. The whole is simple, natural, scriptural. The great qualification of admission into the Society is, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come." Where this exists, it will be demonstrated by its natural and legitimate fruits. Where the fruits do not follow, there is demonstrative proof that the desire does not exist. Some have thought this qualification insufficient. It might be so, were not the means of removal from the Society equally simple. "If there be any among us who observe them not," &c., they have "no more place among us."

The token of membership is a quarterly ticket, issued by the Minister when he meets the Classes at the end of each quarter. If any just cause of complaint exists against any person, at the renewal of the quarterly tickets, the offending person is excluded from membership by his ticket being withheld, and is thereby disqualified from all other Church privileges.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable things connected with these terms of membership is, their extreme *liberality*. There is no other condition whatever imposed than that of a "desire to flee from the wrath to come." And this was

a point to which Wesley himself often called attention. As Dr. Stevens says,

“His only restriction on opinions in his Societies was, that they should not be obtruded for discussion or wrangling in their devotional meetings; not the creed of a man, but his moral conduct respecting it, was a question of discipline with primitive Methodism. The possible results of such liberality were once discussed in the Conference. Wesley conclusively determined the debate by remarking: ‘I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from me, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig and I wear my own hair; but if he takes his wig off, and begins to shake the powder about my eyes, I shall consider it my duty to get quit of him as soon as possible.’

“Is a man,’ he writes, ‘a believer in Jesus Christ, and is his life suitable to his profession? are not only the main, but the sole inquiries I make in order to his admission into our Society.’”

THE CONNEXIONAL PRINCIPLE.

One of the peculiarities of Methodism is what is called “the Connexional principle.” In this respect it differs from the order and organization of other Churches, except perhaps the Moravian, from which probably Mr. Wesley first derived the idea, and laid down the platform of the Connexion. According to this principle, wherever a Society was formed, whether composed of few or of many members, in England or in any other part of the world, it became united firmly with all who acknowledged Mr. Wesley as their head, and, since his death, with all the Societies under the direction of the British Conference.

The United Societies are consequently an association of Christian men, who from choice, without coercion of any kind, determine to adopt these Rules, be bound by these laws, submit to this discipline; acknowledge the same pastorate, and labour to carry out the same designs. By this means, not only is a powerful agency exerted to preserve and control what may have been attained and realized, but a mighty power is brought into force, by which aggressive

action may be taken upon the world. The strong help the weak, and the weak are made strong by the support derived. When needful, the combined force of the whole can be brought to bear upon any particular subject, and promote the common cause. This is one reason why Methodism has made such rapid progress in the world.

The only qualified exceptions to this rule at the present time are, the Methodist Episcopal Church, of America, and the affiliated Conferences in other countries, as the result of missionary labours and enterprise. But even with these the same principle prevails, with varied adaptation to the peculiar state and wants of the country in which each Conference is held.

That particular action which enabled Mr. Wesley and his successors to adopt and carry out the Connexional principle was, the quarterly visitation of the Classes,—first by Mr. Wesley himself, and afterwards by his instruments,—at which the “ticket” of membership was given, by which the person receiving it became a member of the Society, and personally identified with it. As Dr. Smith observes, “This arrangement, valuable and excellent in itself, led to another important usage. Wesley, giving an account of it, says, ‘As the Society increased, I found it required still greater care to separate the precious from the vile. In order to this I determined, at least once in three months, to talk with every member myself, and to inquire at their own mouths, as well as of their Leaders and neighbours, whether they grew in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ To each of the persons thus spoken to, whose conduct was satisfactory, Wesley gave a ticket, on which he wrote the member’s name. This ticket enabled the person to obtain anywhere the privilege of being a member, and was, says Wesley, ‘just of the same force as the commendatory letters mentioned by the Apostle.’”

This usage, established by Wesley, and strictly adhered to ever since, involved more than was at first contemplated. The Connexion is now one vast brotherhood throughout the world, with the Conference at its head.

The manner in which Mr. Wesley personally visited

every Society, and examined every member, for many years, is truly marvellous. His travelling, his preaching, his publication of books, &c., were something extraordinary; but when there were added to these the visitation of the Classes, and the personal examination of each member, the amount of work done becomes astounding, and it appears incredible that any one man should accomplish so much. "The steady and zealous attention of Wesley to the character, conduct, and spiritual state of the individual members of his Societies is truly remarkable. In 1745 he carefully examined the Society in London one by one, and wrote a list of the whole with his own hand, numbered from 1 to 2008. In 1746 he repeated this operation, and wrote another list, in which the number was reduced to 1939."

Wesley having secured the personal inspection of the members, and being satisfied of their piety and godly lives, the various officers of the Connexion were selected and appointed. First, Class Leaders: Second, Lay Preachers: Third, Itinerant Preachers: Fourth, Stewards, to take charge of the temporal affairs of the Church. The various Church courts followed in order, as will be seen in another place: there was, first, the *Quarterly Meeting*, which was and is the meeting of the various officers in each *Circuit*, for the transaction of Circuit business. This embraces every place and Society in that Circuit, thus extending the family or Connexional range. There is, next, the *District Meeting*, which includes a certain number of Circuits, massed together within a specified district of country. The formation, however, of the District is purely a Methodistical arrangement, having no reference whatever to the divisions of England into counties, but made solely for the convenience and prosperity of the work. There is, lastly, the *Conference*, which includes all the Districts in the kingdom, and extends its ample range and influence over the whole.

Truly this organization is wonderfully simple, beautiful, and effective. The machine is complete, symmetrical, and easily worked. There is the centre spring and power, first in Mr. Wesley, and afterwards in the Conference; and this power is felt through the whole of the ramifications; all

the wheels, and joints, and pulleys, and pins, and shafts, and rods, performing their allotted part, and ministering to the efficiency of the whole. Yes, and all this without previous design and arrangement, so far as Mr. Wesley and his successors were concerned. Each part arose, or was called for, or was taken hold upon, to meet some emergency, some felt want. Hence, nothing is cumbrous, nothing is superfluous, nothing inefficient. Sometimes there has been a little jar and a slight breakage, which has thrown a few members and Ministers off; but the breakage has soon been repaired, and the machine has gone on, often with greater harmony and power than before.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF LAY PREACHING, AND ORDINATION
OF THE FIRST REGULAR MINISTERS.

THE establishment of lay preaching was an important step in advancing separation from the Established Church. This serious innovation greatly shocked Wesley's High Church prejudices, and required a marked interposition of God's providence to enable him to enter upon its organization. He had not contemplated such a result to his labours, and evidently was not prepared for it. His brother Charles was also strongly opposed to it. But in this, as in other things, let God make the path plain, and the consequences are not regarded by him. That the will of God was clearly made known, the facts will prove. Happily for John Wesley and the world, his devoted and exemplary mother was at hand, to render that advice at this critical moment which was so greatly needed. How does God take care of His own cause, and provide for unforeseen consequences!

"Several Preachers," says the Rev. Richard Watson, "were now employed by Mr. Wesley to assist in the growing work, which already had swelled beyond even his and his brother's active powers suitably to supply with the ministration of the word of God. Mr. Charles Wesley had discouraged this from the beginning, and even he himself hesitated; but, with John, the promotion of religion was the first concern, and Church order the second, although inferior in consideration to that only. With Charles these views were often reversed. Mr. Wesley, in the year 1741. had to caution his brother against joining the Moravians. after the example of Mr. Gambold, to which he was at that time inclined; and adds, 'I am not clear, that brother Maxfield should not expound at Greyhound Lane. nor can I as yet do without him. Our Clergymen have miscarried full as much as the laymen; [and that the Moravians are

other than laymen, I know not.]’ Mr. Maxfield’s preaching had the strong sanction of the Countess of Huntingdon; but so little of design, with reference to the forming of a sect, had Mr. Wesley, in the employment of Mr. Maxfield, that, in his own absence from London, he had only authorized him to pray with the Society, and to advise them as might be needful; and upon his beginning to preach, he hastened back to silence him. On this his mother addressed him: ‘John, you know what my sentiments have been. You cannot suspect me of favouring readily any thing of this kind. But take care what you do with respect to that young man; for he is as surely called of God to preach, as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself.’ He took this advice, and could not venture to forbid him.

“His defence of himself on this point we may pronounce irrefutable; and it turns upon the disappointment of his hopes, that the parochial Clergy would take the charge of those who, in different places, had been brought to God by his ministry, and that of his fellow-labourers.

“‘It pleased God,’ says Mr. Wesley, ‘by two or three Ministers of the Church of England, to call many sinners to repentance, who, in several parts, were undeniably turned from a course of sin to a course of holiness.

“‘The Ministers of the places where this was done ought to have received those Ministers with open arms; and to have taken those persons who had just begun to serve God, into their particular care; watching over them in tender love, lest they should fall back into the snare of the devil.

“‘Instead of this, the greater part spoke of those Ministers, as if the devil, not God, had sent them. Some repelled them from the Lord’s table; others stirred up the people against them, representing them, even in their public discourses, as fellows not fit to live; Papists, heretics, traitors; conspirators against their King and country.

“‘And how did they watch over the sinners lately reformed? Even as a leopard watcheth over his prey. They drove some of them from the Lord’s table; to which, till now, they had no desire to approach. They preached

all manner of evil concerning them, openly cursing them in the name of the Lord. They turned many out of their work, persuaded others to do so too, and harassed them in all manner of ways.

“ ‘The event was, that some were wearied out, and so turned back to the vomit again: and then these good Pastors gloried over them, and endeavoured to shake others by their example.

“ ‘When the Ministers, by whom God had helped them before, came again to those places, great part of their work was to begin again, if it could be begun again; but the relapsers were often so hardened in sin, that no impression could be made upon them.

“ ‘What could they do in a case of so extreme necessity, where so many souls lay at stake?

“ ‘No Clergyman would assist at all. The expedient that remained was, to find some one among themselves who was upright of heart, and of sound judgment in the things of God; and to desire him to meet the rest as often as he could, in order to confirm them, as he was able, in the ways of God, either by reading to them, or by prayer, or by exhortation.’

“This statement may indeed be considered as affording the key to all that which, with respect to Church order, may be called irregularity in Mr. Wesley’s future proceedings. God had given him large fruits of his ministry in various places; when he was absent from them, the people were ‘as sheep having no shepherd,’ or were rather persecuted by their natural Pastors, the Clergy; he was reduced, therefore, to the necessity of leaving them without religious care, or of providing it for them. He wisely chose the latter; but, true to his own principles, and even prejudices, he carried this no farther than the necessity of the case: the hours of service were in no instance to interfere with those of the Establishment, and at the parish church the members were exhorted to communicate. Thus a religious society was raised up within the national Church, and with this anomaly, that, as to all its interior arrangements as a society, it was independent of the ecclesiastical authority of that Church. The irregularity was, in principle, as

great when the first step was taken as at any future time. It was a form of practical and partial separation, though not of theoretical dissent; but it arose out of a moral necessity, and existed for some years in such a state, that, had the Clergy been disposed to co-operate in this evident revival and spread of true religion, and had the heads of the Church been willing to sanction itinerant labours among its Ministers, and private religious meetings among the serious part of the people for mutual edification, the great body of Methodists might have been retained in communion with the Church of England." *

How cautiously does Wesley proceed, whilst he is staggered at what is going on around him! In "The Large Minutes" he gives this brief account of the origin of this assistance in preaching: "After a time a young man named Thomas Maxfield came and desired to help me as a son in the Gospel: soon after came a second, Thomas Richards: and then a third, Thomas Westell. These severally desired to serve me as sons, and to labour when and where I should direct."

It would be agreeable to the writer to supply here some details respecting these men and their early labours; but want of space will not allow him to do so. He must therefore refer the reader to Jackson's "Lives of Early Methodist Preachers," and to Dr. Smith's and Dr. Stevens' Histories of Methodism; only stating in general, that they were men truly converted to God; that they were filled with loving zeal for the souls of men, and were willing to labour and suffer for their salvation. Mr. Jackson, in his "Centenary" volume, thus describes them:

"Some of Mr. Wesley's early Preachers were men of strong intellect, and attained to considerable eminence in sacred scholarship. Thomas Olivers, originally a shoemaker and a young man of profligate habits, became not only an excellent Christian, but an able and powerful Preacher. He wrote several polemical tracts, which reflect great credit upon his theological attainments, and his ability as a reasoner. The fine hymns, beginning,

'Lo, He comes, with clouds descending,'

* Watson's Life of Wesley, pp. 94-97

and,

‘ The God of Abraham praise,’

were both his composition ; and also the beautiful and appropriate tune which is set to the first of them in Mr. Wesley’s ‘ Sacred Harmony.’ Thomas Walsh, Mr. Wesley declares to have been the best biblical scholar with whom he was ever acquainted. Though he died at the early age of twenty-eight, yet, says Mr. Wesley, ‘ if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New, Testament, he would tell, after a little pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place. Such a master of biblic knowledge I never saw before, and never expect to see again.’ Others of them were well acquainted with the English Scriptures, with Christian theology, and especially with the nature of personal religion ; and that they were able and effective Preachers, is attested by the fruit of their labours in every part of the land. ‘ In one thing which they profess to know,’ says Mr. Wesley, ‘ they are not ignorant men. I trust there is not one of them who is not able to go through such an examination, in substantial, practical, experimental divinity, as few of our candidates for holy orders, even in the University, (I speak it with sorrow and shame, and in tender love,) are able to do. But O, what manner of examination do most of those candidates go through ! and what proof are the testimonials commonly brought, (as solemn as the form is wherein they run,) either of their piety or knowledge, to whom are entrusted those sheep which God hath purchased with His own blood ! ’ ”

Thus was Mr. Wesley borne onward by a tide of events which was resistless. The first departure from the regular order of the Church hierarchy involved in its consequences the raising up of a Ministry which now numbers its thousands, who have proclaimed Divine and saving truth to millions of the human race ; and if peopling heaven with a multitude of redeemed and happy souls, and filling the Church on earth with tens of thousands of devoted and consistent Christians, be any signs of a true scriptural Ministry, then may Wesleyan Ministers say, “ The seals of

our Apostleship are ye in the Lord." This Ministry has extended its operations to distant lands, and in many languages of the Babel world does it now show forth the unsearchable riches of Christ. These lines are written by one of these men on one of the many Missions in the towns and among the native tribes of South Africa.

ORDINATION.

I give prominence to this subject for two reasons. *First*, because of its own intrinsic importance; *second*, because of the pertinacity with which it was and still is disputed and rejected by many of the adherents of the Established Church in England, and by the *Episcopal* (not established) Churches in the Colonies. I have had ample proof of what is contained in the following quotations. "The persistent misrepresentations of him (Wesley) on this point are astonishing. The Rev. Edmund Sydney ('Life of Walker of Truro,' p. 260) says, that when he wanted ordained Preachers for America, he, of a sudden, *in his old age*, found out, by Lord King's account of the primitive Church, that Bishops and Presbyters were of the same order!" This inexcusable violation of historical truth is common in the writings of Churchmen against Methodism."

So long as these misstatements came only before educated Englishmen, the consequences were not serious; but when they are made use of to influence natives, just emerging from heathenism, and unable to understand the real merits of the case, it is far otherwise, and the facts require to be placed in the most clear and convincing light possible.

Dr. Smith thus fairly introduces the subject: "It is a remarkable fact, that as, at the English Conference this year, the Deed of Declaration, which gave consistency and permanence to Methodism in Britain, was announced as enrolled and in operation; so, at the same assembly of his Preachers, Wesley determined upon carrying out the measure which, under God, has been the means of raising the Methodist Societies in America into the state and condition of a Christian Church.

"There is scarcely any action which occurred in the long and eventful life of the founder of Methodism of more

intrinsic importance than that which effected this great object, and perhaps not one which has been more fiercely and foully censured. It is necessary, therefore, to give a clear and faithful account of the whole proceeding.

“Notwithstanding the early zeal of Wesley for Church order, and his continued adherence to the National Establishment, he had been convinced that Bishops and Presbyters are essentially of the same order in the Christian Church, and consequently that whatever religious right or power is inherent in one, is equally possessed by the other; and therefore that both are equally authorized to ordain, or set apart, suitable persons for the office of the Christian ministry.

“It was not, therefore, from any sense of inability that Wesley allowed his Preachers in England to remain in the position of laymen, and the great majority of his Societies to continue without the administration of the sacraments in their own places of worship. He fully believed that he possessed the scriptural power and right to supply all this want,—to place his Societies everywhere in the position of Churches, and himself in the character of a scriptural Bishop over the largest spiritual flock in the country. And it would be well if those who sneer at the conscientiousness of this great and good man, and dilate on his ambition and love of power, would trouble themselves to reconcile these ascriptions of character with his conduct in this respect. Why did not Wesley take this course? Because he considered the orders of ministry in the Established Church reasonable and useful as human arrangements: and because he felt conscientiously bound to remain all his life in communion with this Church, and, as far as in him lay, to keep his people in the same path. To secure this object, he subjected himself and them to violent persecution,—from which the plea of Dissent would have given full protection,—and retained his Societies in a disadvantageous and anomalous position. And, so long as the American colonies were subject to the British Government, he pursued a similar course in that country.”

Accordingly Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke, assisted by Mr. Creighton, all three being by ordination Presbyters of the

Church of England, ordained Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Mr. Thomas Vasey Presbyters to the Wesleyan Church in America. Mr. Wesley afterwards ordained Dr. Coke as Superintendent, giving him letters of ordination under his own hand and seal. On a subject of so much importance, and one against which so much opposition has been brought, Mr. Wesley ought to be heard for himself. In the following letter, which Dr. Coke was to take with him to America, and have printed and circulated on his arrival there, he states the whole subject in a very brief and lucid manner.

“BRISTOL, *September 10th, 1784.*

“TO DR. COKE, MR. ASBURY, AND OUR OTHER BRETHREN IN
NORTH AMERICA.

“By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from their mother country, and erected into independent States. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the Provincial Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation, some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice; and, in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

“Lord King’s account of the Primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that Bishops and Presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right by ordaining part of our Travelling Preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the National Church, to which I belonged.

“But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are Bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none. Neither any parish Ministers. So that, for some hundreds of miles together, there is none either to baptize or to administer

the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America; as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as Elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a Liturgy, little different from that of the Church of England, (I think the best constituted national Church in the world,) which I advise all the Travelling Preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the Elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.

"If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present, I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English Bishops to ordain a part of our Preachers for America. But to this I object, 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them *now*, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us! 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the State and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and primitive Church. And we judge it best, that they should stand fast in that liberty, wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

"JOHN WESLEY."

As in the early Church in Alexandria Presbyters ordained Bishops, so Mr. Wesley believed that he and other Presbyters of the Church of England had power to

ordain not only Presbyters, but even Bishops for America. He accordingly used this power; the result of which is, that the Methodist Church in America has been Episcopal ever since; Philip Asbury being the first Bishop ordained by Dr. Coke. Dr. Stevens thus further states the case:—

“It is another of the great providential facts of his history, that the same year which thus gave a constitutional security to Methodism in Great Britain, was signalized by its episcopal organization in America; a measure which, by its consequences, may well be ranked among the most important events of Wesley’s important life. Here again did he follow, with simple wisdom, the guidance of that Divine Providence, the recognition of which, in the affairs of men, and especially in the affairs of the Church, was the crowning maxim of his philosophy and the crowning fact of his policy. He had been providentially preparing for this new and momentous exigency by that gradual development of his personal opinions, which we have already traced. Bigoted even, as a High Churchman, at the beginning of his career, we have seen him, year after year, reaching more liberal views of ecclesiastical policy. Nearly forty years before his ordinations for America, he had, after reading Lord King’s ‘Primitive Church,’ renounced the opinion that a distinction of order, rather than of office, existed between Bishops and Presbyters. Fifteen years later he denied the necessity, though not the expediency, of episcopal ordination. Bishop Stillingfleet had convinced him that it was ‘an entire mistake, that none but episcopal ordination was valid.’ Henceforth he held that Presbyters and Bishops, identical in order, differing only in office, had essentially the same right of ordination. It was not possible for a man like Wesley, keen, quick, fearless, and candid, to remain long in any ecclesiastical prejudice, now that he was on this track of progressive opinions. He soon broke away from all other regard for questions of Church government than that of scriptural expediency. And as early as 1756, when in his maturest intellectual vigour, he declares: ‘As to my own judgment, I still believe the episcopal form of Church government to be scriptural and apostolical; I mean, well

agreeing with the practice and writings of the Apostles ; but that it is prescribed in Scripture I do not believe. This opinion, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's "Irenicum." I think he has unanswerably proved that "neither Christ nor His Apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government, and that the plea of Divine right for diocesan episcopacy was never heard of in the Primitive Church." " "

The subject is thus settled, so far as America is concerned ; but how are Scotland and England to be dealt with ? In answering this question, it will be needful to anticipate dates and events somewhat ; but it is better to do this than to break the course of the narrative.

The claims of Scotland were first met. At the Conference of 1785, only one year after the provision made for America, Ministers were ordained for Scotland. As Dr. Smith writes, "Wesley proceeded to provide, as far as circumstances permitted, for the spiritual wants of his people. He accordingly informs us in his 'Journal' under this date, that, 'having with a few select friends weighed the matter thoroughly, I yielded to their judgment, and set apart three of our well tried Preachers, John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, and Joseph Taylor, to minister in Scotland ; and I trust God will bless their ministrations, and show that He has sent them. On Wednesday our peaceful Conference ended, the God of power having presided over all our consultations.' The evident object of these ordinations was to enable Methodist Preachers to administer the sacraments in all those places in which the Church of England had no *status*. America had been provided for at the preceding Conference ; the wants of Scotland were now met."

Having proceeded so far, Wesley found it difficult to stop ; the more so, as the state of things in England had become perplexing and painful. Large numbers of his people became so utterly dissociated from the State Church, that they mingled but little in its ordinances ; many of them, not at all. Indeed, although he persevered with so much pertinacity in urging them to attend church as he did himself, in many instances he was so humbled and ashamed

at the manner in which the services were conducted, that he could not conscientiously urge his people to continue their attendance. Many of them had been baptized by himself, and by other Church Ministers who had laboured with him; and these had scarcely been in a church at all; so that, to a great extent, those who adhered to him had no opportunity of receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Thus the want became so pressing, and the cry so loud and long, that he at length yielded; and, being assisted by two other Church Ministers, ordained Messrs. Mather, Rankin, and Moore. "Besides these regulations which appear in the 'Minutes,' it is known that on this occasion Wesley, assisted by the Rev. J. Creighton and the Rev. Peard Dickenson, set apart and ordained, by imposition of hands and prayer, Alexander Mather, Thomas Rankin, and Henry Moore, for the service of the Church in England. Mr. Mather was afterwards ordained Bishop, or Superintendent. Yet, even in this innovation on the order of the Church of England, Wesley gave clear proof that he was influenced solely by what he regarded as the urgent demands of the cause of God. For, whilst making these appointments, he earnestly advised the persons so ordained, 'that, according to his example, they should continue united to the Established Church, so far as the blessed work in which they were engaged would permit.'"

His brother and Mr. Whitehead severely condemned these measures, as completing the separation from the Established Church: for, although Mr. Wesley wished the men thus ordained to continue as closely united to the Church as they could, they could actually do so only in name and appearance. Either their ordination was a valid ordination, or it was not: all the parties agreed that it was a scriptural ordination. This ordination was effected in entire separation from the Established Church; it had no connexion with it in any way farther than this, that the men who performed it were ordained Ministers of that Church. How then it could be less than giving a separate, independent, ecclesiastical status to these men, it is difficult to conceive. The following remarks from Dr. Rigg's "Essays for the Times" may fittingly close this chapter:

“He was persuaded that it was not his vocation to lead away a separation, or fully to organize an independent Church. In his lifetime at least, he trusted to be able to prevent such a consummation. He ordained Ministers to give the sacraments in different parts of England, as well as in Scotland and America, that he might thus still the just outcry of the people whom the parish Clergy drove from the Lord’s table, or who could not receive the communion from the hands of openly immoral ‘Priests.’ By this measure he put off the inevitable day of avowed separation. But he only put it off. He was even in postponing it educating both the people and their Preachers for the state of separation, and the mutual relations which that state would involve. No doubt he saw this. But his plan through life had been to trust and follow Providence, not anticipating troubles before the time, nor allowing himself to be deterred by probable consequences, by difficulties and complications looming in the future, from doing what he felt to be right and needful for the time present. He trusted to Providence the future of the people whom he had been the instrument of raising up. Was there not a Conference of Preachers? Were there not among them men of counsel and might? Had they not before their eyes the precedent of an independent and organized Methodism in America? Was not Dr. Coke, who had acted in America as ‘Superintendent,’ a member of the British Conference? And was there not the same God to guide the Preachers in Conference, as there had been to guide him?”

In treating the subject of the ordination of Wesley’s Itinerant Preachers in this place, the order of *Circuits* has been considerably anticipated; but the writer thought the order of *subjects* more important than the undisturbed record of dates, as by this means the rise of Lay Preachers, the gradual development of Itinerant Preachers, and ultimately the establishment of a regularly ordained Ministry follow each other in proper succession; the reader’s attention not being diverted by the introduction of other subjects, nor having again to take up that which had partially passed from the mind.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST CONFERENCE (1744); AND THE CONFERENCE OF 1769.

HAVING, in the last chapter, traced the institution of the regular Ministry from its beginning, I shall devote my next historic notes to the basis upon which the government of the Methodist Church rests. This consists in the establishment of the *Annual Conference*, which became the conscious and governing power in the Connexion, and in its present matured and permanent form gives separate and independent existence to the Wesleyan Church. The first Conference was held in London, beginning on the 25th of June, 1744. Matters of great moment, relating to the wonderful work already accomplished and the best methods to be adopted in the future, rendered the Conference necessary. Some of these stirring events are thus recorded by Dr. Stevens :

“The year 1744 was to be signalized in the history of Methodism not only by the first session of the Wesleyan Conference, but by formidable trials. Before the Conference Wesley made rapid excursions into various parts of England and Wales. The country was in general commotion, occasioned by threatened invasions from France and Spain, and by the movements of the Scotch Pretender. Reports were rife that the Methodist Preachers were in collusion with the Papal Stuart. All sorts of calumnies against Wesley flew over the land. He had been seen with the Pretender in France; had been taken up for high treason, and was at last safe in prison awaiting his merited doom. He was a Jesuit, and kept Roman Priests in his house at London. He was an agent of Spain, whence he had received large remittances, in order to raise a body of twenty thousand men to aid the expected Spanish invasion. He was an Anabaptist; a Quaker; and had been

prosecuted for unlawfully selling gin; had hanged himself; and, at any rate, was not the genuine John Wesley, for it was known that the latter was dead and buried. That he was a disguised Papist, and an agent for the Pretender, was the favourite slander; and when a proclamation was made requiring all Roman Catholics to leave London, he staid a week in the city to refute the report. He was summoned by the Justices of Surrey to appear before their court, and required to take the oath of allegiance to the King, and to sign the Declaration against Popery. Charles Wesley was actually indicted before the Magistrates in Yorkshire, because in a public prayer he had besought God to 'call home His banished ones.' This, it was insisted, meant the House of the Stuarts; and he had to explain, at the tribunal, the purely spiritual meaning of the phrase, before he was acquitted."

Persecution of the most violent kind now raged throughout the land, and the Methodists had for a time the honour of being the "sect everywhere spoken against." (Acts xxviii. 23.) Mobs, roused to fury, and in many places led on by the Episcopal Clergy, resorted to every kind of violence, in order to drive away or destroy the hated messengers of the Lord Jesus Christ. At the same time many members of the Society were rudely repelled from the Table of the Lord, and were in very deed treated as "the filth and offscouring of all things."

The reader will carefully note that the Conference did not take its origin from any preconceived notion or the working out of any previously arranged plan; but was, like all other parts of the Wesleyan economy, the creation of circumstances,—a necessity arising out of the development of the work, and the need for combined action in the future. Thus Dr. Stevens again writes, speaking of harassing and revolting persecution:

"It is not surprising that the scholarly mind of Wesley sometimes revolted from such scenes. 'I found,' he writes, 'a natural wish, O for ease and a resting-place! Not yet, but eternity is at hand.' Amid these very agitations he was planning for a still more energetic prosecution of the great work which was manifestly henceforth to occupy his

life. He wrote letters to several Clergymen, and to his lay assistants, inviting them to meet him in London, and to give him 'their advice respecting the best method of carrying on the work of God.'* And thus was called together the *first Methodist Conference*, on Monday, the 25th of June, 1744. It was held in the Foundry, London. On the preceding day the regular Clergymen and lay Preachers who had responded to the call took the Lord's Supper together. On the morning of the first session Charles Wesley preached before them. Besides the Wesleys there were present four ordained Ministers of the Church of England: John Hodges, Rector of Wenvo, Wales, a friend and co-labourer of the Wesleys in the Principality, who not only opened his own pulpit to them, but accompanied them in their different routes and out-door preaching; Henry Piers, the Vicar of Bexley, a convert of Charles Wesley, and whose pulpit and home were ever open to him and his brother; Samuel Taylor, Vicar of Quinton, whose church the Wesleys always occupied when passing through that parish, and who himself was known as an itinerant evangelist; and John Meriton, a Clergyman from the Isle of Man, who itinerated extensively in both England and Ireland. It has usually been supposed that these six regular Clergymen composed the first Wesleyan Conference. There were present, however, from among the Lay Preachers, Thomas Maxfield, Thomas Richards, John Bennet, and John Downes.

"The Conference being opened, regulations were immediately adopted for its own government. They were marked by the simplicity and purely evangelical character with which the Methodistic movement had thus far been characterized, and also by that charitable freedom of opinion which it has ever since been at least an indirect tendency of Methodism to promote. 'It is desired,' said these good men, 'that everything be considered as in the immediate presence of God, that we may meet with a single eye, and as little children who have everything to learn; that every point may be examined from the foundation; that every person may speak freely what is in his heart, and that every question proposed may be fully debated and "bolted

to the bran." It was a question formally proposed, 'How far does each agree to submit to the unanimous judgment of the rest?' The answer is worthy of perpetual remembrance. 'In speculative things each can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced; in every practical point, so far as we can, without wounding our several consciences.' Should they be fearful, it was asked, of thoroughly debating every question which might arise? 'What are we afraid of? Of overturning our first principles? If they are false, the sooner they are overturned the better. If they are true, they will bear the strictest examination. Let us all pray for a willingness to receive light to know every doctrine whether it be of God.'

"Having settled its own regulations, the Conference suspended its business for an interval of prayer, after which it proceeded to consider, first, What to teach; second, What to do, or how to regulate the doctrine, discipline, and practice of the Ministry and the Society. These propositions comprehended the scope of its further deliberations. The first two days were spent in discussions of the theology necessary to be maintained in their preaching; and the whole record of the debate vindicates the representation already made of the disposition of the Methodist founders to avoid unnecessary dogmatics, by confining their discussions to those vital truths which appertain to personal religion. Repentance, Faith, Justification, Sanctification, the Witness of the Spirit, were defined with precision. No other tenets were discussed except as they were directly related to these.

"On the third, fourth, and fifth days, questions of discipline and methods of preaching were examined. The relations of the Methodist Societies to the Church of England were considered. Secession from the Establishment was discountenanced, but evidence was given that Wesley's opinions of 'Church order' had already undergone a liberal improvement..

"On Friday the little band dispersed, to proclaim again their message through the country. They made no provision for future sessions; they apparently had no definite conceptions of the great work in which they found them-

selves involved, except the suggestion of their spiritual faith, that God would not allow it to come to nought without first morally renovating the Churches of the land. Any organic preparations for its future course would probably have interfered with the freedom and efficiency of its development. History teaches that men raised up for great events are usually endowed with wisdom and energy for their actual circumstances, and seldom effect momentous changes on hypothetical schemes ; and that even the constitutions of states are best when they arise from gradual growths. Great men are God's special agents, and they are not only good, but great, in proportion as they are co-workers together with Him, using to the utmost their present resources, and trusting the results to His foreseeing wisdom. Such an anticipation of the result as might fit them intellectually to forecast it, might unfit them morally to achieve it. We behold with admiration the prodigious agency of Luther in the modern progress of the world, but we can hardly conceive that he could have anticipated it without being thereby morally disqualified for it. Most of the practical peculiarities of Methodism would have been pronounced impracticable if suggested before the exigencies which originated them. To have supposed that hundreds of thousands of the common people could be gathered, and kept from year to year, in weekly Class-meetings, for direct conversation and inquiry respecting their personal religious experience, and that such a fact should become the basis of one of the most extended forms of English Protestantism ; that a Ministry for these multitudes could be raised up among themselves, a Ministry without education, many of its members, according to their critics, eccentric and predisposed to enthusiasm, if not fanaticism, and yet kept from doctrinal heresies ; that they could be trained to habits of ministerial prudence and dignity, and to the most systematic methods of evangelical labour known in the modern Church ; that with uncertain salaries, and generally with severe want, they should devotedly adhere to their work ; that generation after generation they should consent to the extraordinary inconveniences of their ministerial itine-

rancy, to be torn up with their families every two or three years from their homes and Churches, and dispatched they knew not whither,—such unparalleled measures, proposed beforehand, would have seemed, to thoughtful men, preposterous dreams. Yet more than a hundred years have shown them to be not only practicable, but effective beyond any other contemporary means of religious progress. That Wesley did not seek to anticipate the wants of Methodism, except in the most obvious instances, was both a reason and a proof of his practical ability to meet them when they came.”

Such is an account of the calling and action of the *first Methodist Conference*. Well may it be said, “Whereunto has it grown!” since there are now many Methodist Conferences in the world.

CONFERENCE OF 1769.

In the preparation of this work I have thought it best to observe the order of events, and to note specially the principal epochs, rather than merely chronicle the details of each successive year. Thus the first Conference, held in 1744, was an important epoch in the history of Methodism. The Society then received a separate and distinct organization: the Conference became the centre of union and the source of strength; and its members went forth, guided by fixed rules, preaching the same doctrines, and aiming at one great end; namely, the conversion of souls to Christ, and “spreading scriptural holiness throughout the land.” Those who desire to trace the regular order of occurrences in the detail of dates, will do well to turn to the *History of Methodism* by Dr. George Smith, and also that by Dr. Abel Stevens.

The Conference of 1769 is selected as another important epoch; this being the one at which an appeal from America was received, for the appointment of Ministers to that country, and from which the first two Ministers were sent to that vast continent and people. Other matters of great importance were also discussed and settled by this assembly, which was held in Leeds, and commenced on the 21st of August. During the cycle of twenty-five years,—a

quarter of a century,—the work had rapidly progressed, acquiring greater consistency and gathering fresh force, until its momentum had become very great, and was extensively felt. In 1744 the number of Circuits was nine; now they had increased to fifty-six. There were then half a dozen Lay Preachers; now the number of Itinerants was about eighty, besides a large staff of Local Preachers and Class Leaders. There were now 28,263 members of Society, besides the large numbers who attended the chapels, but were not enrolled as members. Many chapels had been built in different parts of Great Britain, and also in Ireland. Kingswood School had also been founded, for the education of Ministers' sons. The great event of this Conference was the appointment of Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor as the first Ministers to America.

In the year 1760, the first Methodists, from among the Palatines in Ireland, emigrated to America, among whom were Philip Emery and Barbara Hick. They were afterwards joined by another party in 1765, when public worship was commenced, and a Class formed. Subsequently they were greatly strengthened by the arrival of Captain Webb; and a chapel was built in New York,—the first Wesleyan chapel erected in America. Being thus prepared of the Lord, this active little band sent a pressing request to Mr. Wesley for regular Preachers to be appointed. "It was at this Conference that the first appeal for Methodist preaching from America was presented by Wesley. 'Who is willing to go?' he asked. Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor responded, and were appointed to the distant field. The occasion could not fail to produce a deep interest in the assembly. Methodism had already begun its work in the West Indies by Nathaniel Gilbert, who had formed a Society of two hundred Negroes in Antigua. Whitefield had spread it in spirit and power among the Independent Churches of North America, where he was about to die. It was now to take an organic form in the New World by the agency of Wesley's Lay Preachers. 'What can we do further in token of our brotherly love?' he asked, after the appointment of Boardman and Pilmoor. 'Let us now make a collection among ourselves,' was the

prompt response, and the liberal sum of £70 was collected among these generous men, most of whom were habitual sufferers from want. Twenty of the seventy pounds were appropriated for the voyage of the two Missionaries, and fifty were sent toward paying the debt of 'Wesley Chapel,' the first that ever bore that name, and the first Methodist church of the Western hemisphere."

Another subject, which had acquired considerable importance, was, the manner in which the Preachers and their families were to be supported. Something had already been done with this object in view, and a small pittance had been allowed to these hard-working men; but no step had been taken towards providing support for their wives and families. About two thirds of the Ministers were unmarried, and those who had wives did not know how to live. Under these circumstances some of the Preachers had, up to a recent date, been engaged in trade, in order to supplement their small income. But at the Conference of 1768 it was ascertained that the increase of Circuits and members was not satisfactory. This led to searching investigation as to the cause; and, among other things, it was thought that the circumstance of Preachers being engaged in trade had an injurious effect upon the work;—not that they usually carried on business in their own names; but even when it was done by means of agents, it was thought to be a serious evil. The result of the discussion on this question was embodied in a resolution affirming the impropriety of Itinerant Preachers carrying on trade, and an earnest exhortation to all Preachers who had been engaged therein, "to give up all, and attend to the one business." No unnecessary delay was to be allowed in carrying out the measure. "It is true," says the Minute on the subject, "this cannot be done on a sudden; but it may between this and the next Conference."

At the following Conference, (that of 1769,) the subject of the support of Preachers' wives was seriously discussed; and the decision arrived at was, that a small allowance should be made, probably on the ground that the Preachers had been required to give up all trade, and devote all their

time, energies, and attention to the work of Christ. The following statement, given in Dr. Smith's words, will be interesting to all Methodists, and the Bradford friends especially will have the opportunity of verifying the *data*. "At this Conference an important discussion took place respecting a provision for Preachers' wives. It was said, 'Many inconveniences have arisen from the present method of providing for Preachers' wives. The Preachers who are most wanted in several places, cannot be sent thither because they are married; and if they are sent, the people look upon them with an evil eye, because they cannot bear the burden of their families.' The question therefore arose, 'How may these inconveniences be remedied?' In answer to this question, it was resolved that the Circuits should contribute according to their means toward the support of the wives of the Preachers, whether married or single Preachers were appointed to them. The allowance for a wife was, at this time, fixed at £10 *per annum*, and the following kind of assessment made:—London was to contribute £5 *per quarter*, or sufficient for two; Sussex, £2. 10s.; Salisbury, Bradford, Bristol, Devon, Cornwall East the same; Cornwall West, £5; Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, York, Yarm, Haworth, the Dales, the same; Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, £2. 10s.; Liverpool, Sheffield, £3. 15s.; Lincolnshire East, £6; West, £3. 15s.; Bradford, £3. 15s.; Newcastle, £7. 10s. Thus a provision was made for thirty-six wives at £2. 10s. *per quarter* each. There were at that time but thirty-one wives of Preachers dependent on this means of support; and the surplus was ordered to be divided among those who had children, or according to their requirements.

"Notwithstanding these efforts to make an improved provision for the Preachers, it was still very inadequate; indeed, so much so, that besides the persecution which their labours provoked, they had to endure great, sometimes very grievous, privations. So extensively was this the case, that many who bade fair to be the brightest ornaments of the Wesleyan Itinerancy, as their families increased, were driven back to business, merely to obtain the ordinary necessities of life. The following extract from the Bradford Circuit book for 1770 is given as a specimen of the

usages of the Connexion in what was then regarded as the advanced era of its financial movements :—

| | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| The preacher's quarterly board, 13 weeks, at 3s. 6d. | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| The preacher's quarterage | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto ditto for the wife | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| Allowed for servant | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| Allowed for turnpikes..... | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| | £8 | 1 | 6 |

“ To those not conversant with Methodistic affairs, it may be necessary to state that the sum allowed under the head of ‘ weekly board ’ was designed for the maintenance of the family ; or, as it is technically entered in one page of the Society’s record, ‘ for eating.’ The ‘ quarterage ’ was intended to meet the expense of clothing, books, &c. Less than £33 *per annum* was thus the income of the Preacher and his family for clothing, maintenance, and other necessities ! The Preacher, it is true, was much from home ; provisions, too, must have been considerably cheaper than at present ; yet, with every allowance for all these, other aid must have been imperatively necessary to enable a Preacher and his family to *live* ”

In order to raise the additional amount required for the Preachers’ wives, it was resolved to make an annual collection in all the congregations.

Another matter which gave Mr. Wesley and the Preachers deep concern was, the union and supervision of the Preachers and the Societies after the Founder’s death. He was now in his sixty-sixth year ; and although he felt no decay of energy, yet, judging by the most favourable average of human life, his presence could not be calculated upon much longer. So long as he was among the Preachers, they were sure to acknowledge his authority and to be guided by his counsels ; but as soon as he was dead, his authority must cease, and there was nothing to supply its place. Various methods and plans were suggested ; but these were all ultimately abandoned, or absorbed in the *Deed of Declaration*, which will be noticed in another place.

In the rapid progress of the work of Methodism, it had been objected that Mr. Wesley arrogated too much power to himself, and offensive epithets had been used, such as "Pope," &c. It was admitted by his assailants that he called the Conference together for consultation; but they asserted that at the same time he took the control of every thing into his own hands. The fact of his doing this he did not deny, but affirmed that thereby he did no one any wrong, as the Preachers were all his children in the Gospel; besides which the Connexion was a perfectly voluntary association, and its members knew the nature of its organization, and, if they did not approve of it, were under no obligation to unite themselves with him, or to remain in it any longer than was agreeable to them. Under these circumstances he held that it would be unfair to attempt to force upon him a course of action contrary to the dictates of his own judgment. The reasonableness of this line of argument every impartial person must admit.

At the Conference of 1748 England had been divided into nine "Circuits," arranged in the following order:

- "I.—LONDON: including, 1. London itself. 2. Kent and Surrey. 3. Essex. 4. Brentford. 5. Windsor. 6. Wycomb. 7. Oxford. 8. Reading. 9. Blueberry. 10. Salisbury.
- "II.—BRISTOL: including, 1. Bristol itself. 2. Kingswood. 3. Bath. 4. Bearfield. 5. The Devizes. 6. Road. 7. Coleford. 8. Oakhill. 9. Shepton Mallard. 10. Middlesey. 11. Beercrocombe. 12. Taunton. 13. Collompton.
- "III.—CORNWALL: including, 1. Tavistock. 2. Plymouth Dock. 3. Trewint. 4. St. Tue. 5. Gwennap. 6. St. Agnes. 7. Illogan, &c. 8. St. Ives. 9. The Western Societies.
- "IV.—IRELAND: including, 1. Dublin. 2. Tullamore. 3. Tyrrel's Pass. 4. Athlone.
- "V.—WALES: including, 1. Cardiff. 2. Fonmon. 3. Lanmais, &c. 4. Lanttriffent.
- "VI.—STAFFORDSHIRE: including, 1. Stroud. 2. Cirencester. 3. Stanley. 4. Evesham. 5. Wensbury. 6. Shrewsbury. 7. Leominster.

- “VII.—CHESHIRE: including, 1. Cheshire itself. 2. Nottingham. 3. Derbyshire. 4. Lancashire. 5. Sheffield.
- “VIII.—YORKSHIRE: including, 1. Leeds. 2. Birstal. 3. Keighley. 4. Acomb. 5. Syke-house. 6. Epworth. 7. Hainton. 8. Grimsby. 9. The Fens.
- “IX.—NEWCASTLE: including, 1. Osmotherley. 2. Newcastle itself. 3. Sunderland. 4. Biddick. 5. Burnupfield. 6. Spen. 7. Swalwell. 8. Horseley. 9. Plessey. 10. Berwick-upon-Tweed.”

This arrangement, when compared with that of the present day, strikes us with wonder, and fills the heart of every lover of Methodism with gratitude for the unexampled progress which has been made in little more than one hundred years. Meantime Charles Wesley had not ceased to travel in co-operation with his brother; but in 1757 he discontinued his regular course of labour in connexion with him, though his name was still retained on the Minutes, and in a more private manner he sought to advocate the interests of the cause. He saw that, year by year, there was a greater tendency to separate from the Established Church; and as his attachment to that body was strong, he gradually withdrew from open and active labour with his brother. There was this difference between John and Charles Wesley: they were both attracted to the Church of England, but John had placed the salvation of souls and the glory of God above Church order, whilst Charles regarded that order as a “*sine quâ non*.” The latter was desirous for men to be saved and go to heaven, but insisted that the process should be conducted in a “regular” way, and in accordance with Church “order:” and if it could not be carried on in that manner, then he must decline having to do with it in any other. No person, however, can fully understand his case without reading the excellent Life of him by the Rev. Thomas Jackson. Charles Wesley’s fame is enshrined in his immortal hymns; and, thanks to his genius and spirituality, the psalmody of the Wesleyan Methodists is not only not surpassed, but not equalled by any other collection. Much of its depth, originality, and force, was imparted to it by the stirring scenes and sore

persecutions through which he himself passed with heroic spirit in the early days of Methodism. He could not have produced such spirited and practical hymns, had it not been for his own personal experience. Many of them were composed on horseback, and some of them amongst lawless riots, and whilst suffering from boisterous mobs.

The Minutes of the Annual Conferences now began to be regularly published, and have continued to be so ever since. As Dr. Stevens writes, "With the twenty-second Conference, held at Manchester, August 20th, 1765, began the regular annual publication of the Minutes. They now assumed more than ever the form of business-like documents. Theological and ecclesiastical questions are seldom discussed in them, as these subjects had already been settled with sufficient definiteness for the present progress of the body. The names of Preachers admitted on trial, of the Assistants, Helpers, and Circuits, the appointments for the ensuing year, and financial arrangements, with singularly minute rules of discipline for the Societies as well as for the Preachers, make up their substance."

At the preceding Conference,—1764,—Mr. Wesley made another powerful but ineffectual effort for incorporation with the Established Church. "He was, however, still intent on the union of all evangelical Clergymen in the great revival which he was conducting, and on the steadfast union of his people with the Church. He therefore addressed a circular letter to many of the most evangelical Clergy of the Establishment, proposing, not any concession of opinions, for 'they might agree or disagree touching absolute decrees on the one hand and perfection on the other,' but a more catholic spirit, and better co-operation with him, as a member of the Church of England, in the spread of true religion throughout the land. It is to this correspondence that he refers in the brief allusion of his Journal to the present Conference. Though only three Clergymen had responded to his overtures, no less than twelve met him at the session, but not in the catholic spirit which he himself had manifested. They insisted, in fine, upon the very course which Walker had proposed and Wesley had rejected seven years before. It was a momen-

tous juncture to Methodism ; and to Wesley's calm steadfastness subsequent generations owe the fact that it was not then absorbed into the Establishment, and that the organic consolidation which it had been for some time assuming was not effectually counteracted. Charles Wesley himself had the indiscretion to take side with these Clergymen against him, and the heedlessness to declare that if he were a parish Minister the Lay Itinerants 'should not preach in his parish.' The Lay Preachers showed both their good sense and self-respect by unanimously agreeing with Wesley ; and as the clerical visitors would not unite with him, except on their own conditions, he determined to pursue his providential course without them. And thus was another step taken forward toward the legitimate independence and permanence of Methodism."

The Calvinistic controversy prevailed at this time and for some years after with considerable force, and ultimately led to the permanent separation of those who held predestinarian views from Wesley and his people. Mr. Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon were at the head of those who favoured these tenets ; and the sainted Fletcher conducted the controversy on the part of Wesley and his friends, taking the Arminian view of the subject, and advocating it with great ability and success ; so much so, that since that time the Calvinistic views of many persons have been greatly moderated, whilst several Dissenting Churches have abandoned them altogether. Those who desire to see the subject fully and ably treated may gratify their wish by reading Dr. Stevens's "History of Methodism ;" but in these pages I have only room for this passing notice.

Whilst, however, I thus summarily dispose of the Calvinistic controversy, I cannot withhold from the reader the closing scene of the life of that great, honoured, and successful Evangelist, George Whitefield, as sketched by Dr. Stevens. "He departed the same day for Newburyport, where it was expected he would preach on the morrow. While at supper, the pavement in front of the house, and even its hall, were crowded with people, impatient to hear a few words from his eloquent lips ; but he was exhausted,

and, rising from the table, said to one of the Clergymen who were with him, 'Brother, you must speak to these dear people; I cannot say a word.' Taking a candle he hastened toward his bedroom, but before reaching it he was arrested by the suggestion of his own generous heart, that he ought not thus to desert the anxious crowd hungering for the bread of life from his hands. He paused on the stairs to address them. He had preached his last sermon; this was to be his last exhortation. It would seem that some pensive misgiving, some vague presentiment touched his soul with the saddening apprehension that the moments were too precious to be lost in rest; he lingered on the stairway, while the crowd gazed up at him with tearful eyes, as Elisha at the ascending prophet. His voice, never, perhaps, surpassed in its music and pathos, *flowed on until the candle which he held in his hand burned away and went out in its socket.* The next morning he was not, for God had taken him!

"He died of an attack of asthma, September 30th, 1770, as the Sabbath sun was rising from the neighbouring sea. The effulgence of the eternal day had risen upon his beneficent, his fervid, his consecrated life. He had slept comfortably till two o'clock in the morning, when he awoke his travelling attendant, and told him that his 'asthma was coming on again.' His companion recommended him not to preach so often as he had. 'I would rather wear out than rust out,' he replied. He had expressed a desire to die suddenly, and now realized his wish. He sat in his bed some time, praying that God would bless his preaching, his Bethesda school, the Tabernacle congregation, and 'all connexions on the other side of the water.' He attempted again to sleep, but could not; he hastened to the open window, panting for breath. 'I am dying,' he exclaimed. A physician was called, but could give him no relief. At six o'clock he 'fetched one gasp, stretched out his feet, and breathed no more.'"

In some respects he lived and laboured alone, but his life and labours were honoured with amazing influence and success. His marvellous career is ably summed up by the author from whom the previous quotation is taken: "Thus

lived and died, and in the results of his labours lives still and will live for ever, George Whitefield, the 'common drawer' of the Gloucester Inn, the 'poor Scholar' or Servitor of Pembroke College, the 'Methodist' of the Holy Club of Oxford, and the 'prince of Preachers.' In proportion as the historian of his times should, by the soberest study of facts, approximate an exact estimate of his life and its consequences, would he incur the suspicion of exaggeration. It is not only questionable whether any other one man ever addressed by the voice so many of his fellow-men, but whether any other ever swayed them more irresistibly. It has been estimated that he preached eighteen thousand sermons, which would be ten a week for the thirty-four years of his ministry. He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times. The preaching tours he made through the colonies, from Maine to Georgia, would, with our modern means of travel, signalize before the country any Clergyman's life; but the inconvenience and labour which they then involved can scarcely now be conceived. He has the grand distinction of having travelled more extensively for the Gospel, preached it oftener, and preached it more eloquently, than any other man, ancient or modern, within the same limits of life. A nobler eulogy could not crown his memory."

John Wesley preached his funeral sermon in the Tabernacle, London.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERSECUTION.

“THE carnal mind is enmity against God,” says a high authority : opposition to that which is godly and God-like is therefore only the natural action of man’s depraved nature. Thus has it been in all ages of the world, from the death of righteous Abel to the present time. The most notable instance of the operation of this law of sin was in the case of Christ Himself, and culminated in His death on the cross. He was God incarnate, holy, just, and good ; and therefore on Him was made to fall man’s intensest rage, bitterness, and blasphemy. Amongst His followers Stephen was the proto-martyr, and had the honour of being the leader of that noble band who have sealed the truth with their blood. In every age of the world, when there has been the most striking display of the power of God in the salvation of men, “the offence of the cross” has been the greatest. It was so in the Apostles’ days, and again in those of the Reformation from Popery, in England, Germany, Switzerland, and France ; and when John Wesley, and those who laboured with him, successfully preached the Gospel of Christ, hell was “moved from beneath” to stop the work ; and every kind of scorn, rage, and violence was employed to inflict suffering or death upon these zealous, godly, and laborious men.

It is worthy of notice that in most instances the drunken rabble were only the instruments of carrying out the ill-will of Clergymen, Magistrates, and persons moving in the higher walks of life. When Christ was crucified, the great persecutor was the High Priest, together with the Priests and Levites : in the Reformation from Popery the Pope, Cardinals, Prelates, and Priests were the great moving power to employ the secular arm to cut off these offending innovators : and now again, in the eighteenth century, the Clergy, and

those whom they could influence, were the parties to resort to every kind of violence to destroy the work of God. Sometimes they preached from the pulpit upon the subject, and sometimes they employed "men of the baser sort," making them half mad with intoxicating drink, in order that they might more fully and freely execute their dark designs.

Instead of giving my own account of any of the scenes which presented themselves, I prefer quoting some of the statements of those who were the subjects of these persecutions and annoyances, which took place in almost every part of the kingdom, and were continued through a series of years.

"Another prominent element of this history," says Dr. Smith, "and one which has been reserved for notice here, is the violent persecution with which the Wesleys and their friends were assailed in many places, and for some years. It is believed, that the manner, extent, and continued fury of this persecution are without a parallel in English history. Most of the other aggressions which have been made on religion have taken place under the cover of real or pretended law, or by the will and authority of cruel and violent rulers; but this was originated and carried on without law, and in defiance of it, by the outrageous violence of rude and vulgar mobs, very frequently instigated and urged on by the malignant feelings of gentlemen, Magistrates, and Clergymen.

"It is a singular circumstance that the first public interruption and opposition that Wesley received in his out-door preaching was from the celebrated Beau Nash, the noted master of the ceremonies at Bath. Great expectation had been raised in the public mind, by reports which had been circulated respecting a threatened opposition to Wesley on this occasion; and he was entreated not to preach, lest some fearful calamity might happen. He, however, was not the man to be deterred, by any apprehension of consequences, from discharging what he believed to be a religious duty. He accordingly took his place, and began to preach. For a while he proceeded in quiet; but at length Mr. Nash appeared, and demanded by what authority he did those things. Wesley replied, 'By authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid hands upon me, and said, "Take thou authority

to preach the Gospel.” Then Mr. Nash objected to Wesley’s proceeding by asserting, it was ‘contrary to Act of Parliament.’ This, said he, ‘is a conventicle.’ To which Mr. Wesley rejoined, ‘The conventicles mentioned in that Act, (as the preamble shows,) were seditious meetings; but this is not such, here is no shadow of sedition; therefore it is not contrary to the Act.’ Nash replied, ‘I say it is: and besides, your preaching frightens people out of their wits.’ But when asked by Wesley whether he had ever heard him preach, he said he had not, but judged by common report; to which judgment Wesley demurred, as resting on insufficient grounds. Nash, however, not willing to be thus silenced, demanded what the people met there for; on which an old woman cried out, ‘Leave him to me, let an old woman answer him.—You, Mr. Nash, take care of your body, we take care of our souls, and for our souls’ food we come here:’ on which he retired. This unmannerly and profane intrusion, however, was but the beginning of a series of annoyances and persecutions. On the Thursday following, two men, hired for that purpose, began singing a ballad in the midst of Wesley’s prayer, as he was preparing for preaching on Priest-down.”

A specimen of these raging persecutions is given in the following extract from Dr. Stevens: “On Wesley’s return to Bristol, his brother set out for the north, preaching in almost every town on his route, and was repeatedly beset by ferocious mobs. At Wednesbury he found that Methodism was accomplishing its salutary work among the colliers. More than three hundred had been reformed and gathered into the Society, while others raged against the Itinerants, like untamed beasts of the forest. He walked with his Wednesbury brethren to Walsall, singing as they went; but as they passed through the streets of the latter place, they were hailed by the shouts of the rabble. He took his stand on the steps of the market-house, where a host of excited men rallied against him, and bore down like a flood to sweep him away. Stones flew fast and thick. Many struck without hurting him. He kept his ground till he was about to close his discourse, when the raging stream bore him from the steps. He regained them,

and was pronouncing the benediction, when he was again swept down; but a third time he took his position, and returned thanks to God, after which he passed through the midst of the rioters, menaced on every hand, but untouched.

“He went to Sheffield, where worse scenes awaited him. He says: ‘Hell from beneath was moved to oppose us.’ As soon as he was in the desk, ‘the floods began to lift up their voice.’ A military officer contradicted and blasphemed, but the preacher took no notice of him, and sang on. Stones were thrown, hitting the desk and people. To save them and the house, he gave notice that he should preach out of doors, and look the enemy in the face. ‘The whole army of aliens followed me,’ he says; their leader laid hold of him and reviled him; he gave the enraged soldier ‘A Word in Season, or Advice to a Soldier,’ one of the tracts of his brother; he then prayed particularly for the King, and preached on amid the contention, though often struck in the face by stones. After the sermon he prayed for sinners as servants of their master, the devil, upon which the officer ran at him with great fury, threatening revenge for his abuse, as he called it, of the King his master. He forced his way through the crowd, drew his sword, and presented it to the preacher’s breast. Wesley threw open his vest, and fixing his eye on his assailant, calmly said: ‘I fear God, and honour the King.’ The Captain’s countenance fell in a moment; he put up his sword and quickly retreated from the scene. Wesley returned to the house of a friend; but the rioters followed, and exceeded in their outrage anything he had seen before. Those of Moorfields, Cardiff, and Walsall, were lambs, he says, compared to these. They resolved to pull down the preaching-house, ‘and they set to their work,’ he writes, ‘while we were praying and praising God. It was a glorious time with us. Every word of exhortation sunk deep, every prayer was sealed, and many found the Spirit of glory resting on them.’ The mob pressed hard to break open the door. Wesley would have gone out to them, but his brethren would not suffer him. ‘The rabble raged all night, and by morning had pulled down one end of the house.

“‘Their outcries often waked me in the night,’ he writes;

‘yet I believe I got more sleep than any of my neighbours.’ This disgraceful tumult he ascribes to sermons preached against the Methodists by the Clergy of Sheffield.”

These were the scenes that awaited them, as they proceeded from place to place; but they halted not in their onward course.

Let us look at Ireland, and see whether matters were any better there, especially as John Wesley pronounced the Irish to be “the politest nation he had ever seen.” He exclaims, “What a nation is this! Every man, woman, and child, except some of the great vulgar, not only patiently, but gladly suffers the word of exhortation.” But it was not long before the “roaring lion” was heard here also. “In about two weeks [September, 1747] Charles Wesley arrived in Dublin, accompanied by Charles Perronet, another of the sons of the Shoreham Vicar, and remained more than half a year in the country. During the brief interval since the visit of his brother, the ‘roaring lion’ had raged in Dublin. A Papist mob had broken into the chapel, and some storehouses which appertained to its premises, destroying furniture, stealing goods, making a bonfire of the seats, window cases, and pulpit in the streets; wounding with clubs the members of the Society, and threatening to murder all who assembled with them. It was, in fine, a thoroughly Irish riot, bristling with shillalahs and triumphant with noise. The Mayor was disposed to protect the Methodists, but was powerless before the great numerical force of their persecutors. The grand jury threw out bills brought against the rioters, and thus gave indirect encouragement to their violence. Wesley met the Society privately, but was followed through the streets to his lodgings by a retinue of the rabble, who complimented him with shouts of derision.”

Having given an example of the manner in which the two brothers endured persecution and triumphed over it, I will now cite the case of one or two of the Lay Preachers, to show that they received no better treatment.

JOHN NELSON was amongst the first Lay Preachers who assisted Mr. Wesley, and occupies a prominent place in the history of Methodist heroism. He was a robust,

powerful man, a mason by trade. Before he met with the Wesleys, he was a sincere seeker of salvation. When he heard Mr. Wesley in London explain the plan of salvation with so much simplicity and clearness, he quickly embraced it, sought and found the Saviour, was made happy in the love of God, and became zealous for His glory. He then returned to his home at Birstal, in Yorkshire, where his wife was living; and she also soon became a partaker of like precious faith. Nelson began to explain and apply the Word of God in his own house; but in a short time the number of those who desired to hear him increased so much that he stood at the door and addressed a multitude from thence. Wesley shortly afterwards proceeded to the North, and when he found what was done, he permitted rather than encouraged Nelson to proceed. The latter soon extended his efforts, working by day and preaching by night. His ministry was made exceedingly useful, and, in a short time, he extended his labours to other towns. He became the spiritual father of Methodism in Leeds, and in many parts of the North of England. He was a very powerful preacher, and many were converted to God through his instrumentality. He had not laboured long, however, before he was made to feel the full force of violent persecution; but he bore "hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." "Nelson was to encounter worse perils immediately after at Hepworth Moor. He was assailed there with a shower of stones while preaching on a table in the open air. All who were around him fled, leaving him as a mark for the flying missiles, but none touched him. When he descended, and was departing, he was struck on the back of his head with a brick, and fell bleeding to the earth. He was unable to rise for some time, but being lifted up, staggered away, the blood running down his back and filling his shoes, and the mob following him with shouts and menaces that they would kill him as soon as he passed the limits of the town. "Lord," cried the perilled Methodist, as he tottered along, "Thou wast slain without the gate, and canst deliver me from the hands of these bloodthirsty men." An honest man opened his door and took him in; a surgeon dressed his

wound, and the same day he was on his way to preach at Acomb. There his trials were to culminate. A coach drove up crowded within and without by young men, who sang bacchanalian songs and threw rotten eggs at the women of the assembly. Two of the strongest of the rioters approached him, one of them swearing that he would kill him on the spot. Handing his coat and wig to his associate, he rushed at the preacher, crying, "If I do not kill him I will be damned." Nelson stepped aside, and the assailant pitched on his head. On rising, he repeated the attempt, and rent away Nelson's shirt collar, but again fell. In a third assault he prostrated the preacher, and leaping with his knees upon him, beat him until he was senseless, opening meanwhile the wound on his head, which bled freely. The ruffian supposed he was dead, and returned to his associates, seizing as he passed one of Nelson's friends, whom he threw against the wall with such violence as to break two of his ribs. The rest of the mob doubted whether Nelson had been completely dispatched, and twenty of them approached him. They found him bleeding profusely, and lifted him up. The brother of the parish Clergyman was among them, and denouncing him, said: 'According to your preaching, you would prove our Ministers to be blind guides and false prophets; but we will kill you as fast as you come.' Another said: 'If Wesley comes on Tuesday, he shall not live another day in this world.' When they had got him into the street, they set up a huzza, and a person caught hold of his right hand 'and gave him a hasty pluck;' at the same time another struck him on the side of his head and knocked him down. As he rose, they again prostrated him. No less than eight times did they fell him to the earth. His robust frame alone saved him from death. When he lay on the ground unable to rise again, they took him by the hair of his head and dragged him upon the stones for nearly twenty yards, some kicking him meanwhile with merciless rage. Six of them stood upon him, to 'tread the Holy Ghost out of him,' as they said. 'Then they let me alone a little while,' he writes, 'and said one to another,

“We cannot kill him.” One said, “I have heard that a cat hath nine lives, but I think that he hath nine score.” Another said, “If he has, he shall die this day.” A third said, “Where is his horse? for he shall quit the town immediately.” And they said to me, “Order your horse to be brought to you, for you shall go before we leave you.” I said, “I will not, for you intend to kill me in private, that you may escape justice; but if you do murder me, it shall be in public; and it may be that the gallows will bring you to repentance, and your souls may be saved from the wrath to come.” They attempted then to drag him to a well and thrust him into it, but a courageous woman who was standing near it defended him, knocking several of his persecutors down. These ruffians passed in the community for gentlemen, and whilst still harassing Nelson at the well, they were recognised by two ladies in a carriage from the city, whom they knew; they slunk away confounded, and their victim escaped.”

A volume might be filled with a recital of the numerous instances in which these disgraceful scenes were enacted, but limited space will allow me to give only one extract more, which is from the “Life of Mr. Thomas Mitchell,” contained in Jackson’s “Lives of Early Methodist Preachers,” vol. i., pp. 247–249.

“In the year 1751, I was stationed in Lincolnshire. I found a serious people and an open door; but there were many adversaries. This was far the most trying year I had ever known. But in every temptation God made a way of escape, that I might be able to bear it.

“On Sunday, August 7th, I came to Wrangle very early in the morning. I preached, as usual, at five. About six, two constables came at the head of a large mob. They violently broke in upon the people, seized upon me, pulled me down, and took me to a public-house, where they kept me till four in the afternoon. Then one of the constables seemed to relent, and said, ‘I will go to the Minister, and inquire of him whether we may not now let the poor man go.’ When he came back, he said, ‘They were not to let him go yet.’ So he took me out to the mob, who presently hurried me away, and threw me into a

pool of standing water. It took me up to the neck. Several times I strove to get out, but they pitched me in again. They told me I must go through it seven times. I did so, and then they let me come out. When I had got upon dry ground, a man stood ready with a pot full of white paint. He painted me all over from head to foot, and then they carried me into a public-house again. Here I was kept till they had put five more of our friends into the water. Then they came and took me out again, and carried me to a great pond, which was railed in on every side, being ten or twelve feet deep. Here four men took me by my arms and legs, and swung me backward and forward. For a moment I felt the flesh shrink; but it was quickly gone. I gave myself up to the Lord, and was content His will should be done. They swung me two or three times, and then threw me as far as they could into the water. The fall and the water soon took away my senses, so that I felt nothing more. But some of them were not willing to have me drowned. So they watched until I came above water, and then, catching hold of my clothes with a long pole, made shift to drag me out.

“I lay senseless for some time. When I came to myself, I saw only two men standing by me. One of them helped me up, and desired me to go with him. He brought me to a little house, where they quickly put me to bed. But I had not lain long before the mob came again, pulled me out of bed, carried me into the streets, and swore they would take away one of my limbs, if I would not promise to come there no more. I told them, ‘I can promise no such thing.’ But the men that had hold of me promised for me, and took me back into the house, and put me to bed again.

“Some of the mob then went to the Minister again, to know what they must do with me. He told them, ‘You must take him out of the parish.’ So they came and took me out of bed a second time. But I had no clothes to put on; my own being wet, and also covered with paint. But they put an old coat about me, took me about a mile, and set me upon a little hill. They then shouted three times, ‘God save the King, and the devil take the Preacher!’”

Thus these veterans laboured, and suffered, and conquered. One thing strikes us as marvellous—that so few of them were killed, or even seriously injured. Doubtless illness and death followed these outrages in many instances; but these cases, as compared with the violence displayed and the missiles thrown, were comparatively few. The Master whom they served was often a wall of fire round about them, not only restraining the wrath of their enemies, but causing the remainder of that wrath to praise Him. Many of their most violent persecutors were converted, and became zealous preachers of that Gospel which they had so ardently sought to destroy; and ultimately all active opposition came to an end, and the “offence of the Cross” ceased.

Great care will be required by the Methodists of the present day, or they will become very feeble and effeminate followers of this noble band. If there is not now active open persecution, there is the enervating influence of the world, with its gaudy fashions, gay followings, and absorbing pursuits. To resist and overcome its allurements will require an amount of self-denial, taking up the cross, and resolute energy equal to what was demanded in those old troublous times. The profession of religion is wide-spread, but the athletic, robust Christian is not often met with. The Church and the world still greatly need men filled with the Spirit, men of deep piety and of self-denying labour.

Let not the Methodists of the present generation forget the price at which their peaceful state and many privileges were purchased. “The blood of the martyrs” has been “the seed of the Church;” and the obloquy, scorn, and sufferings endured by the early Methodists were the purchase price of the comfort, respectability, and high position now attained. At the present day every one sits under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. Let gratitude abound in proportion to the benefits enjoyed, and let that gratitude be made apparent by energetic participation in every good word and work.

CHAPTER IX.

IRELAND.

THE "Emerald Isle" has been, and still is, the statesman's great difficulty; and so it will remain, as long as Popery is dominant. The true cause of Ireland's woes is Popery: it is sick at heart, and the only cure is Bible truth and Gospel power. Politicians seek remedies from other sources; and doubtless there are many ways in which they may ameliorate the condition of the Irish: but such methods as endowing Maynooth, establishing Popish Universities, and giving salaries to the Papal Priesthood, can only feed the disease and increase the evil. So long as Ireland is Popish, she is alien to Great Britain, and loyal to Rome. Ireland is said to be the only country which the Reformation did not benefit. And, in truth, the subjection of the people by force of arms, and the establishment of a Protestant State hierarchy, did not reform the people, or touch the heart of the nation; so that in sympathy and interest Ireland has not been one with Great Britain. Scotland became part of the British Empire not so much by force of arms, as through the triumphs of the Protestant religion. Edward I. was the "hammer of the Scotch," but he did not break the heart of the nation. It was when Scotland received the Reformation that it became one in heart with England. Thus their sympathies and interests could blend; and consequently a real union has grown up and become consolidated. Not so with Ireland: she was broken by the power of the sword, but remained rebellious at heart, and has remained so ever since, and will continue so until the internal state of the nation is renovated. Episcopal hierarchy was established in Ireland, but it was forced upon the people, and hated by the mass; and with sorrow of heart we are compelled to admit, that not only were many

of the Protestant Clergy destitute of evangelical religion, but some of them were immoral in their lives ; so that more proselytes were made from Protestantism to Popery than from Popery to Protestantism. Such was the state of the people and nation when the Wesleys first went there.

Mr. Wesley had no sooner established his Societies in England, than he turned his attention to Ireland, and resolved to visit it. He “arrived in Dublin on Sunday, the ninth of August, 1747. The bells were ringing, and he went immediately to St. Mary’s church, and in the afternoon, by arrangement with the Curate, preached to as ‘gay and careless a congregation’ as he had ever seen. The Curate treated him politely, but was immovably prejudiced against his employment of Lay Preachers, and assured him that the Archbishop was equally opposed to so extraordinary a novelty. Wesley sought the Archbishop, and had an interview with him ten miles from the city. Two or three hours were spent in the consultation, during which the Prelate advanced and Wesley answered ‘abundance of objections.’ Had Berkeley been the Bishop, Methodism would probably have taken possession of the Church. Wesley gives us no information of the result of the interview ; he immediately began, however, his usual course of independent labours.

“A Lay Preacher from England, Thomas Williams, had formerly a Society in Dublin in 1747 Wesley found in it nearly three hundred members. He examined them personally, as was his habit in the principal Societies at London, Bristol, and Newcastle ; for none of his ‘assistants or successors has been more minute and faithful in such pastoral labours.’ He found them ‘strong in faith,’ and admired their docile and cordial spirit. He pronounced the Irish the politest people he had ever seen. ‘What a nation,’ he exclaims, ‘is this ! Every man, woman, and child, except a few of the great vulgar, not only patiently, but gladly suffers the word of exhortation.’ He had not yet fully learned their character ; the ‘roaring lion,’ as he afterwards found, ‘shook himself here also.’”

The first impression made by the Irish on Mr. Wesley’s

mind was, as we see from the above, a very favourable one : but he soon had abundant cause to alter his opinion. His brother Charles, who shortly after followed him, had to suffer the most violent persecution, and other followers and Preachers had to endure "a great fight of affliction." Yet, notwithstanding the formidable opposition and harassing persecutions of Popish Priests and Irish mobs, Methodism not only lived, but prospered in the land, producing the most beneficial effects upon the temporal as well as spiritual condition of the people. This was especially manifest among the Palatines in the south-west of the country. These people were Germans, who emigrated from their native land in the reign of Queen Anne, and settled in the south-west of Ireland in the county of Limerick. They were Protestants by profession ; but, having been long removed from their own country, and having had no Ministers to take the spiritual oversight of them, had sunk down into the lowest state of profligacy and vice. In this condition they were found by Mr. Wesley, and those who laboured with him in the Lord : but as they at once received the truth as it is in Jesus, the transforming effects were soon seen in their improved temporal condition and their reformed lives. For a full account of these people, see Dr. Crook's "Ireland," etc.

This distinct notice of them is the more needful, as it was from among this obscure people that Methodism was first introduced into the United States of America. Without entering into details, which may be found in Dr. Crook's work, I must content myself with quoting his pictorial account of the first emigration to America.

"It is now just one hundred and six years since, one summer's morning, a group of emigrants might have been seen at the Custom House Quay, Limerick, preparing to embark for America. At that time emigration was not so common an occurrence as it is now, and the excitement connected with their departure was intense. They were Palatines from Ballingran, and were accompanied to the vessel side by crowds of their companions and friends, some of whom had come sixteen miles to say farewell for the last time. By a very slight effort of imagination you

can vividly recall the scene. One of those about to leave—a young man, with a thoughtful look and resolute bearing—is evidently the leader of the party, and more than an ordinary pang is felt by many as they bid him farewell. He had been amongst the first fruits of his countrymen to Christ, had been the leader of the infant Church, and in their humble little sanctuary had often ministered to them the word of life. He is surrounded by his spiritual children and friends, who are anxious to have some parting words of counsel and instruction. He enters the vessel, and from its side once more breaks amongst them the bread of life. And now the last prayer is offered; they embrace each other; the vessel begins to move. As she recedes, uplifted hands and, better still, uplifted hearts attest what all felt. But none of all that vast multitude felt more, probably, than that young man. His name is PHILIP EMBURY. His party consisted of his wife,—Mary Switzer, to whom he had been married in Rathkeale church about a year and a half before,—two of his brothers and their families, Peter Switzer, probably brother to his wife, Paul Heck and Barbara his wife, Valer Tettler, Philip Morgan, and a family of the Dulmages. The vessel arrived safely in New York on the 10th of August, 1760. Who that pictures to his mind that first band of Christian emigrants leaving the Irish shore, but must be struck with the simple beauty of the scene? Yet who, amongst the crowd that saw them leave, or the thousands whose eye will fall upon this sheet, could have thought that two of that little band were destined, in the mysterious Providence of God, to influence for good countless myriads of Adam's children, and that their names should live long as the sun and moon endure? Yet so it was."*

We have already seen that Methodism was introduced into Ireland by John Wesley in August, 1747, and that he was quickly followed by his brother Charles, who carried on the work. It advanced with so much rapidity, that in August, 1752, only five years later, the first Conference was held by John Wesley, on his second visit to Limerick. "The record in his journal is characteristically brief: 'I

* Dr. Crook's "Ireland," pp. 73, 75.

spent Friday and Saturday in Conference with our Preachers, and the next week spake with each of the members of the Society; many of whom, I now found, were 'rooted and grounded in love,' and 'zealous of good works.'

"The following composed the Conference: John Wesley, Samuel Larwood, John Haughton, Joseph Cownley, John Fisher, Thomas Walsh, Jacob Rowell, Thomas Kead, Robert Swindells, John Whitford, and James Morris: all of whom, with the exception of Morris, may be regarded as Wesley's staff of Itinerants then labouring in Ireland. Wesley had reason to suspect that the Calvinistic leaven had injured more of his Itinerants than Williams, and he dreaded its baneful influence upon Preachers and people as he did the plague. Hence, a large proportion of the time of this first Conference was given up to this subject. In answer to the question, 'What wrong doctrines have been taught?' we find the answer, 'Such as border on Antinomianism and Calvinism.' Baxter's 'Aphorisms on Justification' were then read carefully, and the Scriptures referred to examined, and 'all objections considered and answered.' This course was all the more necessary because of the influence of Moravian teaching upon Methodism at that time; and many of these devoted labourers were young men who had had but little time or opportunity for obtaining clear views as to the doctrinal teaching of the Word of God on these controverted points. At this Conference, Philip Guier of Ballingran, James Morris, John Ellis, James Wild, Samuel Levic, and Samuel Hobert, were received as 'fellow-labourers.' Philip was received as what Wesley called 'a Local Preacher,' as distinguished from an Itinerant. Wesley never intended him to travel, but made him the first Methodist Pastor of the Palatines."

Methodism in Ireland exercised distinct action in connexion with its own annual Conference, without being separated from the English Conference; the President of which is *ex officio* the President of the Irish Conference; the Irish Conference also having always its own representatives in the English Conference. This arrangement has doubtless been of unspeakable advantage to Irish Metho-

dism, as men on the spot and in the work were much better able to understand its nature, and adapt the working power, than those at a distance could possibly be.

Mr. Wesley bestowed special care upon Ireland. He often visited it in person, and sometimes remained for months at a visit. He held twenty-one Conferences in that country, and appointed some of his best and most successful Preachers to labour there; so that it was sometimes said in England that Ireland had more than its share of attention: but Mr. Wesley declared that it would repay all the labour bestowed upon it. This prophetic declaration was amply verified. Ireland soon gave Thomas Walsh to England, who was declared by Mr. Wesley to be the best biblical scholar he had ever known; and when this accomplished and zealous man was removed by death at the early age of twenty-eight Mr. Wesley felt his loss keenly, and expressed his inability to fathom the mysterious dealings of God in connexion with His own work. Ireland has given many Ministers of eminence to England, among whom we will only mention the learned Commentator, Dr. Adam Clarke, and, of our contemporaries, the Rev. William Arthur, one of the ex-Presidents of the British Conference.

Many of the Irish Ministers have been most laborious and successful preachers of God's holy Word. With true Christian heroism they have manfully maintained an unequal contest against the most formidable difficulties,—Popery, poverty, and emigration. In reference to the last, Dr. Crook observes: “Irish Methodism has probably lost from fifty to seventy thousand members within the last century, of whom old Garrett Miller and his worthy family are not unfair specimens. If we take into account the children, who would in all probability have joined the Church of their fathers, the loss to the Irish Methodist Church by emigration during the past century cannot be much less than from a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand members! And yet some wise folk in England and elsewhere amuse the public with homilies on the failure of Irish Methodism!” This is a result at which no one would have attempted to guess; and it was only after Dr. Crook had

thoroughly investigated the subject that he made this statement.

The last Conference which the venerable Wesley attended in Ireland was in 1789. * In July Wesley presided for the last time in the Irish Conference, now composed in the main of Irishmen, as the great majority of the English brethren long since had retired from Ireland. Wesley's final testimony as to the Irish Conference,—which had then in its number such familiar names as John Crook, Thomas Barber, Gustavus Armstrong, Samuel Wood, David Gordon, the spiritual father of Gideon Ouseley, Matthias Joyce, Matthew Stewart, William Wilson, Thomas Ridgeway, George Brown, Andrew Hamilton, sen., and jun., James M'Mullen, John Malcolmson, John and Thomas Kerr, Alex. Moore, Lawrence Kane, and many more,—is worth transcription here. 'Friday, July 3rd.—Our little Conference began in Dublin, and ended Tuesday, 7th. On this I observe I never had between forty and fifty such Preachers together in Ireland before; all of them, we had reason to hope, alive to God, and earnestly devoted to His service. I had much satisfaction in this Conference; in which, conversing with between forty and fifty Travelling Preachers, I found such a body of men as I hardly believed could have been found together in Ireland; men of so sound experience, so deep piety, and so strong understanding. I am convinced they are no way inferior to the English Conference, except it be in number.' "

Such was the character given of the Irish Preachers by this aged Apostle: well had they deserved it, and still they sustain it. The number of members is now 20,000, notwithstanding all their losses by emigration, &c. Irish Methodism retains all its energy; and now seeks to become more effective by the establishment of a College at Belfast for training Irish Ministers; towards which object the American Episcopal Church has largely contributed from its Centenary fund.

The Report of the Missionary Committee at the Irish Conference of 1876 gives the following statistics: 28 Mission Stations; 30 Missionaries; 54 chapels; 219 other preaching-places; 5 paid Catechists; 29 unpaid Local

Preachers ; 2,136 Church members ; 104 on trial for Church membership ; 1,761 scholars in the schools ; and 6,954 attendants on public worship.

This is distinctly Mission work, as distinguished from ordinary Circuit work ; and the labours of these Missionaries are confined to some of the most dark and depraved parts of the land, and are especially directed against the bold and frowning aspect of Popery.

Bishop Janes, at the Centenary Meeting in New York, when speaking on this subject, said, "The fact is, that wherever English-speaking Methodism exists out of England, it has been planted by Irishmen, and English-speaking Methodism is Irish Methodism the world over." We must, however, take an exception to this high eulogy. There are many English-speaking Methodists in the South African Colonies ; but the work was not begun by Irish Methodists, since the Rev. Barnabas Shaw commenced the work at the Cape, and the Rev. William Shaw came out with the British settlers in 1820 ; and neither of these eminent men was of Irish birth or extraction.

In closing his book on Ireland, Dr. Crook makes the following appeal for a fair estimate of what Irish Methodism has accomplished : "Before closing this little book, and sending it abroad, I feel that I should embrace this opportunity of saying a few words on the claims of Irish Methodism on English-speaking Methodism everywhere, but particularly in America. This book has already outgrown my original idea very much, and these parting words, in taking leave of the indulgent reader, must be few. No one, I think, can fully understand the peculiar position and difficulties of Irish Methodism, who has not spent some years in the Itinerancy in Ireland, and seen Methodism in all the provinces, and from behind the scenes as well as from without. If we are to estimate power by the difficulty which it surmounts in its victorious march, I may be allowed to think that Irish Methodism will compare favourably with any branch of the great Wesleyan family in any part of the world. Nowhere has it had more stern and formidable external difficulties. In the north it has won tens of thousands of converts to its glorious doctrines of general redemp-

tion; and this, notwithstanding the most organized and persevering opposition from the most ultra type of Calvinism to be found, perhaps, in any part of our world. It has not only made itself known in all the principal towns in Ulster, but *felt* too; and its influence in liberalizing the tone of Calvinistic preaching and theology has been incalculable. In the south and west it has been confronted and opposed by High Church influence, backed by enormous wealth, aristocratic pride, and indomitable prejudice; and everywhere Popery, like a fearful upas tree, sustained by tens of thousands of pounds from the purse of Protestant England, ('Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon,') has opposed its progress. Meantime, without national endowment, without foreign assistance deserving of notice, it has not only maintained its position throughout the land, but has a stronger position, in proportion to the population, now than at any former period of its history. And never had it a more noble, true-hearted, and enterprising band of sons and daughters than at the present hour; and this after having given at least five times its present ministerial staff to the ranks of our Ministry in England, the United States, the Canadas, Eastern British America, Australia, and various parts of our foreign Mission field, and perhaps ten times the number at present enrolled in its membership. Suppose the politico-religious circumstances of the country had been different, so that its sons and daughters were not driven by the stern hand of necessity to seek a home in a foreign land, would not Irish Methodism be, in proportion to the population, by far the most powerful section of the Methodist family on this side of the Atlantic?"

Every sound-hearted Protestant should read, and mark well, Dr. Crook's concluding observations on Irish Popery. We have room only for one extract: "Am I wrong in saying that both Great Britain and America are at the present hour in fearful danger from the influence of Irish Popery? And are not the Maynooth apostolical bachelors paying off Protestant England smartly for her national apostasy from the God of her fathers? It is easy for liberal Protestants (so-called) to say, 'We shall meet the crisis when it comes.'

'The crisis is now ; what will come will prove the catastrophe.' The progress of Popery in England and Scotland in our day is truly alarming, and mainly through Irish Priests and Irish Popery. Dr. Manning regards the ascendancy of Popery in England as so inevitable, from her present position and prospects, that he throws off the mask so long worn gracefully by his lying mistress, and in the face of Protestant England avows the intention of the Popish Church to regain its ancient ascendancy in England, and within a brief period too ! He says : *'It is the duty therefore of Catholics to prepare themselves for the future which is before them. They little thought thirty years ago to be as they are now. They little thought ten years ago of the majestic expansion of the Catholic Church at this hour, and of its dignified attitude of calm in the midst of the religious confusion and dissolution which is around it. Still less can we anticipate what the next ten years may bring. The advance of the Church is in geometrical progression.'* That this is not an idle boast, but sober matter of fact, an appeal to statistics will prove. The same thing is true, to an alarming extent, in the land of John Knox. *'Throughout Scotland, in 1830, there were not fifty Priests in all ; there are now two hundred,—more than four to one ! There were then but twenty-five chapels in all ; there are now two hundred, besides the cathedrals,—eight to one. There were then no converts ; there are now fourteen. There were then no public schools ; there are now one hundred and two in efficient working order.'* In the light of these figures how suggestive is the fact that one fifth of the entire population of Glasgow are Irish Romanists ! ”

CHAPTER X.

THE CONFERENCE OF 1784, AND THE DEED OF DECLARATION.
THE DEATH OF WESLEY.

THE Conference of 1784 I take as constituting another epoch in Methodism, inasmuch as—in addition to other important business transacted—by the ordination of Dr. Coke and two other Ministers, provision was made for the successive ordination of Wesleyan Ministers in America; and, by passing the “Deed of Declaration,” the permanent settlement of chapel property was effected. No two acts of Mr. Wesley did more than these towards consummating the full and permanent separation from the Established Church. By the former, provision was made for the regular ordination and the perpetuity of the Methodist Ministry; and by the latter, chapels were secured in which their ministrations might be carried on in an uninterrupted manner.

The Conference of 1784 was held at Leeds, and commenced its sittings on July 27th. There were now seventy-two Circuits. The number of members in Society was reported to be 64,207, of whom 14,988 were in America. These numbers show an increase on the year, in Great Britain and Ireland, of 3,274. This increase was distributed generally throughout the Circuits. There were also nearly two hundred Travelling Preachers.

Chapels.—As before mentioned, one of the great acts of the Conference was that of passing the “Deed of Declaration,” by which all chapel property might be secured to the Connexion for all time to come. This subject had long occupied the serious and anxious attention of Mr. Wesley. But, before stating the manner in which this great and grave subject was arranged, it will be needful to give some account of chapel matters from the commencement; the more so because I have not treated upon the subject in the general course of the narrative.

When the Wesleys and Whitefield were excluded from the churches of the Establishment, they had no other alternative than either to cease preaching, or to preach out of doors, and build chapels, as opportunity offered. They took the latter alternative. Wesley's first chapel was erected in Bristol, of which Dr. Stevens gives the following account: "His Societies in Bristol grew so rapidly that he was compelled to erect a place of worship for their accommodation; and thus was another step taken forward in the independent career upon which he was being unconsciously led by the providence of God. On the 12th of May, 1739, the corner stone 'was laid with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.' This was the first Methodist chapel in the world. He had not the least design of being personally engaged either in the expense or the direction of the work, having appointed 'eleven feoffees,' on whom he supposed the burden would fall; but becoming involved in its entire financial responsibility, he was constrained to change this arrangement. And as to the direction of the undertaking, he says he presently received letters from his friends in London, Whitefield in particular, (backed with a message by a person just from the metropolis,) that neither he nor they would have anything to do with the building, nor contribute anything towards it, unless he would instantly discharge all feoffees and do every thing in his own name. Many reasons they gave for this course, but one was decisive with him; namely, that such feoffees always would have it in their power to control him; and, if he preached not as they liked, to turn him out of the house he had built. He accordingly yielded to their advice, and, calling all the feoffees together, cancelled, without opposition, the instrument made before, and took the whole management into his own hands. Money, he says, it is true, he had not, nor any human prospect of procuring it; but he knew 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof,' and in His name set out, nothing doubting. In this manner was it that the property of all his chapels became vested solely in himself during the early part of his career, a responsibility which was necessary in his peculiar circumstances, which he never abused,

and which he transferred, in prospect of his death, by a 'Deed of Declaration,' to his Legal Conference. Decisions in the Court of Chancery, made under this document, have given security to the property, and stability to the whole economy of Wesleyan Methodism down to our day."

The Bristol chapel was the *first erected*, but not the first opened for public worship. That honour belongs to the "Foundery" in London, of ancient celebrity, which was the first building dedicated by the Wesleys to Divine worship. Mr. Jackson supplies the following account of it: "The first chapel that the Wesleys themselves erected was in Bristol; but the first they opened for Divine worship was in London. The history of this place is not a little curious. The chapel was a large unsightly brick building, near the present site of Finsbury Square, and was known by the name of 'the Foundery.' It had been in the occupation of the Government, and used for the purpose of casting brass cannon. Its nearness to London rendered it inconvenient, in consequence of the crowds of people that assembled to witness the process; and a serious accident having occurred, by which some lives were lost, and several persons greatly injured, the business was transferred to Woolwich, and the premises were leased to Mr. Wesley, who fitted up the principal building as a place of worship. The form and character of the erection were changed, but the name was retained. This chapel was a sort of cathedral in Methodism till the year 1777, when it was superseded by the very commodious and elegant chapel in the City Road, which for many years was not unfrequently called 'the New Foundery.' Behind the old Foundery was Mr. Wesley's dwelling-house, the entry to which was through the gallery of the chapel. Here Mr. Wesley resided when he was in London, and here his venerated mother died in the Lord. At one end of the Foundery was a building of one story, which was occupied as a day-school; in another spacious room was a large electrifying machine, which was used on two days every week in the case of the afflicted people who resorted thither for relief; and in another, the publications of the two brothers, in prose and verse, were kept on sale. At the top of the

Foundery was a small bell, which was rung as the signal of the preaching at five o'clock in the morning, and of other religious services. This part of London was then open, and unfurnished with lamps; and the Methodist people, men and women, were regularly seen, at that early hour, during the winter season, selecting their steps by the help of a small lantern, and wending their way to the house of prayer, drawn by the well-known sound, and anticipating those lessons of evangelical instruction which their venerated teachers were accustomed to deliver. Mr. Wesley had often preached his morning sermon, performed his early devotions with his people, and was on his way to distant places in the country, before other people had shaken off their slumbers, and were prepared to apply themselves to the duties of life.

“The opening of the Foundery in London, and of the ‘Room’ in Bristol, was soon followed by the erection of the Orphan-house in Newcastle; and then by chapels of various dimensions in Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, York, Hull, Birmingham, and other populous towns. In these buildings of primitive Methodism, elegance of architecture was little studied. They were plain and substantial, intended for use, and not for ornament. The most remarkable circumstance connected with them was, the amplitude of their accommodation for the poor. The pulpits also were large, and contained a bench of considerable length for the use of the Preachers who might be expected successively to address the congregation at the quarterly watch-nights, and other similar services. The preaching in these sanctuaries was plain, pointed, searching, and powerful. The singing was lively; the body of the people generally joined in; and not a few persons in different places were drawn by its sweetness and power to an attendance upon the ministry of the word. The tunes were mostly simple melodies, composed by the old masters, and selected by Mr. Wesley, who published various books of sacred music; and they were sung, if not always according to the rules of art, yet with the spirit and the understanding. The men and women sat apart in the congregation: a practice which Mr. Wesley derived from the Moravians,

but which, even in his time, was found to be inconvenient. It was ultimately abandoned. In these assemblies, which were often annoyed by mischievous and riotous people, multitudes of ungodly persons were awakened, converted, regenerated, sanctified, and built up in faith and love."

This quotation gives a particular account of the Foundery, and a general statement of the mode in which chapels were erected in other parts, and the style in which the simple, stirring, spiritual worship was conducted. The chapels had increased in number in all places where Wesley and his Itinerants laboured: they were now numerous and of great value. No wonder then that Mr. Wesley should be anxious about their security after his death, as hitherto they had been held in his name, and in that of his brother. So long as he lived, there was no difficulty; but he was now more than eighty years old, and of necessity must soon cease to labour and govern.

No practical purpose would be answered by entering into details about different chapels. I shall therefore content myself with giving an account of the manner in which they were all finally settled at the Conference now under consideration.

This settlement was effected by what was called "the Deed of Declaration," or "Poll Deed;" a document in which Mr. Wesley constituted the "Legal Conference" as consisting of one hundred Preachers, whose names were inserted in the Deed, which he had enrolled in Chancery, so giving it all the force of a legal document. The Conference was to assemble annually, as long as there were one hundred Preachers in the Connexion, fifty of whom were to form a quorum. The decrease by deaths during the year was to be filled up at each Conference. The plan adopted was for two of every three Ministers to come into the "Legal Hundred" by seniority, and the third by nomination and a vote of the Conference. By this means younger men, of the greatest talent and business power, have been brought in, and their services rendered effective. The honour is prized, and the time of the election is one of excitement. In this manner Mr. Wesley delegated the power which had been possessed by

himself to one hundred of his Preachers ; thus laying a very broad basis for future action. The power of voting has, however, been extended to all the Preachers who have travelled a certain number of years ; but in some cases the vote has to be confirmed by the Legal Hundred ; such as the election of President, etc. So long as forty of the Legal Hundred assemble, they have power to appoint Preachers to these chapels ; and so long as these Preachers live godly lives, and preach Methodist doctrines, the trustees have no power to exclude them from the pulpits.

This Deed of Declaration was revised in 1832, and now makes full provision for the settlement of all chapel property in what is designated the "Model Deed ;" all the particulars relating to which are published in a small volume, which may be consulted by those who take an interest in such matters.

If the question is asked, "To whom do the chapels belong?" the answer is, To no person or body exclusively ; but they are held under authority by the Conference on the one part, and by trustees connected with the chapels on the other ; and they cannot possibly be alienated except under certain conditions, which make the alienation of a chapel a rare occurrence. The Deed of Declaration gives to the Connexion distinct and independent status ; its validity has several times since been assailed, but without effect ; and the operations of the Church have been carried on with regularity and success.

Mr. Wesley, however, did not get this "Deed of Declaration" through the Conference without some trouble, in overcoming which all his wisdom and power were severely tried, and the aid of the sainted Fletcher was called into requisition. "The 'long debate,'" says Dr. Smith, "to which reference is made in the beginning of this paragraph, and 'in which Mr. Fletcher took much pains,' was caused by the opposition which was offered to the Deed of Declaration by John Hampson, senior, John Hampson, junior, William Eels, Joseph Pilmoor, and a few others. As previously stated, the first of these Preachers had published a circular, calling on all his fellow-labourers, and the people everywhere, to defeat this measure. The principal cause

of this violent conduct was undoubtedly the omission of their names from the list inserted in the Deed. This is, indeed, virtually admitted by Hampson, in his 'Appeal;' and he confidently expected to raise such a storm of complaint as would enable him to induce Wesley to abrogate or modify the course of action which had been adopted. What was urged in this debate is not known; but there can be no question that it was very earnest and impassioned. If John Hampson ventured to introduce into his speech only a few of the terms of invective and reproach which he printed in his circular, it is very certain that there were men in the Conference who, loving Wesley, and approving of his conduct, would repel such charges with great indignation. It is known that the contention grew so warm, that Mr. Fletcher all but besought the contending parties on his knees to stay the contest, and be reconciled. Principally through his means, an apparent harmony was restored. The four Preachers 'acknowledged their fault;' and the Conference proceeded to other business. But this harmony was only in appearance. Every one of these four soon afterward left the Connexion. The elder Hampson became an Independent Minister; the younger obtained ordination in the Established Church, and a living in Sunderland. Mr. Eels, some time afterward, joined Mr. Atlay in Dewsbury; and Mr. Pilmoor returned to America, but not in connexion with Wesley. As Mr. Hampson, senior, was old and infirm, and the people among whom he laboured very poor, he was generously allowed twelve pounds a year out of the Preachers' Fund."

This allowance to Mr. Hampson was certainly very generous and very liberal, not in the amount given, so much as in the spirit manifested; from which it is evident, that, though discussion ran high, yet bitterness and rancour were not mixed up with it, or, if at all, only to a very limited extent. It is, however, very evident that in order thus to carry out his purpose, and render chapel property permanently secure, all the wisdom, patience, and firmness of Wesley were brought into requisition. The result has proved how needful was the action, how far-seeing the plan, and how successful its issue.

THE DEATH OF WESLEY.

The time had now arrived when this distinguished man of God must exchange mortality for life. Though by no means of robust health in early life, he had been spared to an honoured old age ; and presented an illustrious example of what may be accomplished by one man, under the guiding, controlling, impelling power of God.

His compeers, Whitefield and his brother Charles, Grimshaw and Perronet, had passed away in triumph long before. He was spared long enough to see the great work which he had begun extended and spread to an astonishing degree. In March, 1785, he thus speaks of the revival of religion, in which he had acted so prominent a part : “ I was now considering how strangely the grain of mustard seed, planted about fifty years ago, has grown up. It has spread through all Great Britain and Ireland, the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Man ; then to America, from the Leeward Islands, through the whole Continent, into Canada and Newfoundland. And the Societies in all these parts walk by one rule, knowing that religion is holy tempers ; and striving to worship God, not in form only, but in spirit and in truth.”*

“ Who, I ask in amaze, Hath begotten me these?
And inquire, from what quarter they came ?
My full heart it replies, They are born from the skies,
And gives glory to God and the Lamb.”

But, although he was spared long enough to witness the wonderful results of his ceaseless labour, it was not too long for the necessary influence of his presence in arranging and consolidating the work so auspiciously commenced, and subsequent events proved how difficult and harassing were the questions and subjects which had to be discussed and settled in order that the work might be perpetuated to succeeding generations.

In the first years of his ministry he had to endure every kind of contumely and opposition ; but, long before his departure from this world, the scene had wonderfully changed. “ When he first went into Cornwall, accompanied by John

* Wesley's Works, vol. iv., p. 298.

Nelson, he plucked the blackberries from the hedges, to allay the cravings of hunger ; and slept upon boards, having his saddle-bags for a pillow, till the bones cut through his skin. Now he was received, in that county especially, as an angel of God. On the 17th of August, 1789, on visiting Falmouth, he says, ‘The last time I was here, above forty years ago, I was taken prisoner by an immense mob, gaping and roaring like lions. But how is the tide turned ! High and low now lined the street, from one end of the town to the other, out of stark love, gaping and staring as if the King were going by.’” This was the man whom the people delighted to honour ; and that honour was not limited to one place or locality, but prevailed more or less in every place where he had laboured. It was not confined to one class alone, whether high or low, rich or poor, but was manifested by all classes.

At length, however, natural vigour yielded to the feebleness of age. On January 1st, 1790, he says, “I am now an old man decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim ; my right hand shakes much ; my mouth is hot and dry every morning ; I have a lingering fever almost every day ; my motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labour. I can preach and write still.” This at nearly eighty-seven years of age !

Thus he continued until February, 1791, “when his strength entirely failed ; and after languishing a few days, during the whole of which he presented a most edifying example of holy cheerfulness and resignation, he died on the 2nd of March, in great peace. When the hand of death was upon him, he oftener than once repeated, and that with solemn emphasis, these lines :

‘I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me.’

And, as the result of that faith in the Lord Jesus, of which these words were the significant expression, he again and again exclaimed, ‘*The best of all is, God is with us.*’”

“*God is with us,*” was his glory and joy in his last hours. When nearly exhausted, he lifted up his dying arm in token of victory, and “raising his feeble voice in a holy triumph not to be expressed, he again repeated, ‘The best of all is,

God is with us.' ” In these last moments he also said, “He causeth His servants to lie down in peace.” “The clouds drop fatness.” “The Lord is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.” “I'll praise, I'll praise.” “The next morning the closing scene drew near. Joseph Bradford, his faithful and well-tried friend, prayed with him; and the last word he was heard to utter was, ‘Farewell.’ While several of his friends were kneeling round his bed, without a groan, this man of God, this beloved Pastor of thousands, entered into the joy of his Lord.” This was a fitting close to so holy and beautiful, so laborious and useful a life.

His funeral was an occasion on which multitudes testified their love for the departed and their sorrow at their loss. The Rev. Thomas Jackson, in his “Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism,” gives the following account of the event: “Few men have been more honoured in their death than this venerable servant of the Lord. On the day preceding his interment his remains were, according to his own directions, placed in the chapel near his dwelling-house in London; and the crowds that went to see them were so great, that business was generally suspended in the City Road, and it was with great difficulty that any carriage could pass. His funeral took place early in the morning, lest any accident should occur, in consequence of the vast concourse of people which was otherwise expected to attend. When the officiating Clergyman at the grave side pronounced the words, ‘Inasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto Himself the soul of our dear *father* here departed,’ the people, who nearly filled the burying-ground, burst into loud weeping; and it is believed that scarcely a dry eye was to be seen in the entire assembly.”

The inscription on the marble tablet to his memory in City Road chapel is at once historical and expressive, in few words, of the character, piety, labours, and successes of this eminent man of God. It is as follows:

“The best of all is, God is with us.”

Sacred to the Memory of

THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A.,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

A man, in learning and sincere piety,
 scarcely inferior to any :
 In zeal, ministerial labours, and extensive usefulness,
 superior, perhaps, to all men, since the days of St. Paul.
 Regardless of fatigue, personal danger, and disgrace,
 he went out into the highways and hedges,
 calling sinners to repentance,
 and publishing the Gospel of Peace.

He was the Founder of the Methodist Societies,
 and the chief Promoter and Patron
 of the plan of Itinerant Preaching,
 which he extended through Great Britain and Ireland,
 the West Indies, and America, with unexampled success.
 He was born the xvii of June, MDCCIII,
 and died the ii of March, MDCCXCI,
 in sure and certain hope of eternal life,
 through the Atonement and Mediation of
 a Crucified Saviour.

He was sixty-five years in the Ministry,
 and fifty-two an Itinerant Preacher ;
 He lived to see in these kingdoms only,
 about three hundred Itinerant,
 and one thousand Local, Preachers,
 raised up from the midst of his own people,
 and eighty thousand persons in the societies under his care.
 His name will be ever had in grateful remembrance
 by all who rejoice in the universal spread
 of the Gospel of Christ.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

Though Charles Wesley died a few years previously to his brother, it will not be out of place to give here the inscription on the tablet to his memory in the same chapel; it being no less expressive and characteristic than the one just quoted.

“God buries his workmen, but carries on his work.”

Sacred to the Memory of

THE REV CHARLES WESLEY, M.A.,

EDUCATED AT WESTMINSTER SCHOOL,

AND SOMETIME STUDENT AT CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

As a Preacher

He was eminent for ability, zeal, and usefulness,
being learned without pride,

and pious without ostentation;

to the sincere, diffident Christian,

A Son of Consolation;

but to the vain boaster, the hypocrite, and the profane,

a Son of Thunder.

He was the first who received the name of

Methodist;

and, uniting with his brother, the Rev. John Wesley,

in the plan of Itinerant Preaching,

endured hardship, persecution, and disgrace,

as a good Soldier of JESUS CHRIST;

contributing largely, by the usefulness of his labours,

to the first formation of the Methodist Societies

in these Kingdoms.

As a Christian Poet, he stood unrivalled;

and his Hymns will convey instruction and consolation

to the faithful in CHRIST JESUS,

as long as the English Language shall be understood.

He was born the XVIII of December MDCCVIII,

and died the XXIX of March MDCCLXXXVIII,

a firm and pious Believer in the Doctrines of the Gospel,

and a sincere Friend to the Church of England.

If these two wonderful men are permitted to look down from their lofty seats, and witness what transpires in this lower world, with what rapture must they behold the ever-widening and extending successes of the Gospel of Christ ! Even this spot (Annshaw) where I now write was for untold ages the dwelling-place of the dark and cruel heathen ; but it is now won to Christ ; and the hallelujahs of hundreds of saved Kaffirs ascend to heaven, and rise accepted in the skies, perfumed with the incense of the Saviour's merits.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONFERENCE OF 1797.

THE Conferences of 1795 and 1797 form another important epoch in the history of Methodism. In the last chapter we gave the closing scene of Mr. Wesley's laborious and useful life, but no account of the last Conference which he attended. Before recording what occurred immediately after his death, it is needful to notice the progress which had been made when that event occurred. The last Conference at which this venerable patriarch was present, was held in Bristol, commencing on July 27th, 1790, and was the forty-seventh from the beginning. Of this Conference Dr. Smith writes as follows :

“As the state of the Connexion at this Conference must be taken as its condition and extent at the death of Wesley, it may be desirable to be more than usually particular in the statement, and to go rather more into detail than would otherwise be necessary. The following table presents a summary view of the number of Preachers and members in the Methodist Societies at this Conference.

| Countries. | Circuits. | Preachers. | Members. |
|------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| England | 65 | 195 | 52,832 |
| Ireland | 29 | 67 | 14,106 |
| Wales | 3 | 7 | 566 |
| Scotland | 8 | 18 | 1,086 |
| Isle of Man | 1 | 3 | 2,580 |
| Norman Isles | 2 | 4 | 498 |
| West India Isles | 7 | 13 | 4,500 |
| British America | 4 | 6 | 800 |
| United States | 97 | 198 | 43,265 |
| | <hr/> 216 | <hr/> 511 | <hr/> 120,233 |

“The work had now attained such magnitude and im-

portance, as to demand in its several departments more careful oversight than any man of Wesley's age could supply, or than could be afforded by any annual inspection at the Conferences. This oversight it was wisely determined to supply by the appointment of Committees, as circumstances rendered them necessary. At this time a Committee was appointed for the management of the West India Missions. It was composed of Dr. Thomas Coke, Alexander Mather, Thomas Rankin, James Rogers, Henry Moore, Adam Clarke, John Baxter, William Warrener, and Matthew Lumb.

"A Building Committee for England was also appointed, consisting of Alexander Mather, John Pawson, Thomas Rankin, William Thompson, William Jenkins, and the London Assistant.

"A similar Committee was also appointed for Ireland, of which Andrew Blair, Adam Clarke, Thomas Rutherford, and Thomas Mitchell were the members."

Soon after the death of Mr. Wesley, the difficulties of the new and altered state of things began to be felt. He left the following brief and characteristic letter to be read at the first Conference after his decease.

"TO THE METHODIST CONFERENCE.

"CHESTER, *April 7th*, 1785.

"MY DEAR BRETHREN,

"SOME of our Travelling Preachers have expressed a fear, that, after my decease, you would exclude them either from preaching in connexion with you, or from some other privilege which they now enjoy. I know no other way to prevent any such inconvenience, than to leave these, my last words, with you.

"I beseech you, by the mercies of God, that you never avail yourselves of the 'Deed of Declaration,' to assume any superiority over your brethren: but let all things go on, among those Itinerants who choose to remain together, exactly in the same manner as when I was with you, so far as circumstances will permit.

"In particular, I beseech you, if you ever loved me, and if you now love God and your brethren, to have no respect of persons, in stationing the Preachers, in choosing children for

Kingswood school, in disposing of the yearly Contribution, and the Preachers' Fund, or any other public money. But do all things with a single eye, as I have done from the beginning. Go on thus, doing all things without prejudice or partiality, and God will be with you to the end.

“JOHN WESLEY.”

This letter, short and general as it is, discloses Mr. Wesley's intense concern for the future welfare of his Societies: but it was by no means adequate to meet the exigency of the case. Some have held that one of Mr. Wesley's most serious defects was, that of not making more full and complete provision for the well-being of his system after his death. The whole of what he had done was *preparatory*; and so long as he was present to guide and work it, all went on well: but after he was taken away, serious difficulties beset the path of those who had to legislate on Church organization. He had proceeded too far to allow his people to recede and become absorbed in the National Church, and not far enough to enable the Connexion to advance with steadiness and safety. In fact, the Conference was not in a position to legislate, when legislation was most needed. It might have been able to execute or carry out what had been previously arranged and prepared, but lacked the unity and authority essential to organize a regular system of Church polity, and to make such new regulations as were needed by the altered circumstances in which the Methodist Connexion was placed.

The divided sentiments and feelings of Wesley's followers may be classed under three heads. First: *the conservatives*, or High Church party, with Dr. Coke at their head. These were desirous, under certain conditions, to return to and be absorbed in the Establishment. Dr. Coke made proposals to that effect, but they were rejected by the dignitaries of the Establishment. “The conservatives,” says Stevens, “included most of the trustees of chapels, as these were generally chosen from the most wealthy members of the Societies, and were therefore most likely to be influenced, by their social position, in favour of the national Church. They were, indeed, the ‘High Church’

lay aristocracy of Methodism, distinguishable, as such, from the mass of the people who demanded the sacraments, and from the ultra democratic party represented by Kilham. By extensive consultations and correspondence they prepared to exert their influence, if not their official power, against all liberal changes. They met by delegations at Bristol, before the session of the Conference there. They claimed a larger control than had been conceded them over the affairs of the Societies, and particularly the right of a veto on the sacraments in the chapels. They denounced the meeting at Lichfield, demanded that the Preachers should abandon all ecclesiastical titles, cease to administer the sacraments, abjure ordinations, and divide more equally with the trustees the administration of the affairs of the Church." The carrying out of these proposals would have been fatal to Methodism, and ultimately they were rejected by the Conference.

The Second class consisted of those who might be designated *the progressive party*. The policy of this large and preponderating class was to carry out Mr. Wesley's plan of availing themselves of the openings and calls of Providence as to their future operations. "The devout spirit of the Conference of 1791 pervaded all its proceedings. Its members were too deeply impressed with the sense of their critical position to allow unhallowed passions to affect their doings, or to suffer irritating language to escape their lips. At the examination of twelve candidates, the older Preachers wept around them as the pledges of future success; at their public reception similar emotions prevailed in the congregation. Entwisle, who was one of the received probationers, describes the scene as peculiarly solemn: 'Hopper, whose usefulness, age, wisdom, and experience, rendered him truly venerable, opened the meeting by prayer; he prayed till he could pray no longer for weeping. Preachers and people seemed to have similar feelings, and the whole congregation felt the Divine power in a very remarkable manner. For my own part, I felt what I never did before. I seemed to receive a new commission, and I do believe that I experienced something of what Paul speaks of in 1 Tim. iv. 14.' An early historian

of Methodism says: 'The business being ended, the Conference broke up. Great was the comfort of the Preachers, that such a foundation was laid for the peace and prosperity of the Societies. The Lord they saw was better to them than their boding fears. His servants were of one heart and one mind. The voice of thanksgiving ascended up on high, and they departed to their usual Circuits blessing and praising God.'

"The pledge of the Conference to 'follow strictly Mr. Wesley's plan' was vague, and was variously interpreted. The controversy could not but be resumed, and more definite results must be reached before the Church could be at rest. Partisans of the national Church regarded the pledge as binding the Methodists to the Establishment; the advocates of progress dissented, and, in the language of Pawson, declared, 'Not so; our old plan has been to follow the openings of Providence, and to alter or amend the plan as we saw it needful, in order to be more useful in the hand of God.' Hanby, whom Wesley had authorized to administer the sacraments, still claimed the right to do so wherever the Societies wished him. Pawson wrote, the same year, that if the people were denied the sacraments, they would leave the Connexion in many places. Taylor was determined to administer them at Liverpool; and Atmore wrote, that having 'solemnly promised upon his knees, before God and His people, that he would give all diligence, not only to preach the word, but to administer the sacraments in the Church of God,' he would do so, wherever required by the people."

The Third class may be characterized as the *ultra liberals*, of whom Mr. Kilham, who was afterwards expelled, was the leading spirit. These sought immediate and entire separation from the Established Church, and the full organization of an independent Methodist Church. This party was also defeated; and Mr. Kilham, who was removed from the Conference in 1796, established a new sect, called "The New Connexion Methodists," which still exists, and has a large number of Preachers and members.

The classes here enumerated had not only their own

peculiar views, but several pleas which might be fairly urged in support of their views. Hence the difficulty of legislation. Had the Established Church of England possessed a little more moderation, liberality, and wisdom, it might have absorbed into itself at this time much of the rising intelligence and wealth of Methodism. But the Episcopal hierarchy knew not the golden opportunity, but rudely repulsed or coldly slighted all overtures, and the opportunity returned no more. Many of the Episcopalians have, since those days, desired a liberal plan of incorporation; but in vain; there is no place for reparation, if there is for repentance.

The moderate party prevailed, after seven years of toil and struggle. The conflict was conducted with great spirit, but upon the whole with wonderful moderation. (See the *Histories of Methodism* by Dr. Smith and Dr. Stevens.)

It is not improbable that the type in Mr. Wesley's mind, if he had a type at all, was that of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. In the formation of that Church, he ordained Dr. Coke Bishop, who ordained Asbury; and the succession has been continued ever since. In England, also, he ordained Mather as Superintendent, in addition to the Presbyters, with the design probably that he and Dr. Coke should ordain others, and that thus in England, as well as in America, there should be a Methodist Episcopal Church. This was also a favourite project with Dr. Coke, but he failed to get it carried into execution. Probably he calculated upon being the successor of Wesley, and expected to be the President of the first Conference after his death; and possibly he was disappointed by his non-election by his brethren to that office. Instead of making that appointment they placed William Thompson in the chair, and constituted the Doctor Secretary for several years in succession. There could not be two John Wesleys, and the Founder of Methodism could have no successor. It was not till 1797 that Dr. Coke was raised to the presidency.

At the Conference of 1795 a general "Plan of Pacification" was, after much discussion, adopted: but this did not fully meet the case. It formed the basis, however, upon which more satisfactory action afterwards took place; but not

until the Conference of 1797 was the whole subject fully and amicably arranged.

“Many of the trustees of the Connexion were still dissatisfied with its government. A week before the next Conference sixty-seven delegates from them met at Leeds to make further demands. The Conference itself assembled there, according to appointment, on the 1st of August, 1797, the trustees being still in session. Never, says an historian of Methodism, had the Methodist Preachers entered upon the work of their annual assembly under circumstances of so much difficulty and danger to the Connexion. Dr. Coke was chosen President, and Samuel Bradburn Secretary. The Minutes enrolled 399 Preachers; 23 were received on probation; 3 ceased to travel; 3 had died since the previous session. The Circuits numbered 145, being a gain of two. The British Islands reported 99,519 members of Society; their increase was 4,293; the British North American Provinces and the West Indies reported 8,742, showing a decrease of 911. The total membership under the jurisdiction of the Conference was 108,261; the total increase was 3,382.”

The spirit in which the negotiations between the trustees and the Conference were carried on, is thus depicted by Dr. Stevens: “The most critical part of the business of the session related to the demands of the assembled trustees; it was conducted during nine or ten days with as much cordiality as dignity, by written communications and Committees from both bodies, and the final agreements were so satisfactory to both that the convention of trustees adjourned, declaring by formal resolution its thanks to the Conference, and the determination of the delegates to ‘support the Methodist cause on the plan agreed on by the Conference;’ and the Conference voted that ‘we do sincerely return you our thanks for your candid and Christian-like conduct throughout the whole of your proceedings in the character of representatives of the trustees. We join our hands and hearts with yours, and trust we shall all of us continue faithful till death in the good old cause, which many of you and us have so long been engaged in, and in which we are determined to spend our strength and

lives. To God's holy keeping we recommend you.' Thus did the tossed and driven bark come forth from the protracted storm. 'The division of the body,' says a Methodist authority, [Dr. Smith,] 'which enemies to its prosperity, both within and without, ardently desired, was entirely averted; and Preachers and people, released from vexatious and unprofitable wrangling, were able to pursue their true and proper calling of building up believers, and spreading scriptural holiness throughout the land.' The result of the struggle was most salutary, not only in the restoration of harmony, but, if possible, more so, as giving a consolidated government to Wesleyan Methodism, by which it has not only survived later strifes, but has extended its sway with increasing energy, more or less, around the world, and which in our day, after more than half a century of labours and struggles, remains as effective a system of Church polity as Protestant Christendom affords. The fact that it is due as much to the moderation and concessive spirit as to the firmness of the good and great men who conducted Methodism through this formidable struggle, presents a lesson which should never be forgotten by their successors."

The final results are thus summarized: "The adjustment of 1797 was essentially the completion of the Plan of Pacification of 1795. The combined results of both were: that the supremacy of the Conference, as designed by Wesley—its right to appoint the Preachers to Circuits, and its control of the pulpits of the Church—was maintained; a majority of the trustees, stewards, and Leaders of any Circuit having, however, power to demand a meeting of the Preachers and other officers of the Circuit to examine a Preacher whose disqualifications might render him unfit for the appointment, he being subject to removal if a majority of the meeting should condemn him, and subject to suspension till the next Conference, if he should refuse to submit to their decision. The sacraments were accorded with restrictions which could not finally prevent their general administration. The Conference pledged itself to publish annual accounts of the yearly collections. All accounts of deficits in the allowance of Preachers, which the Circuits

did not meet, were to be presented in the Circuit Quarterly Meetings, and to be endorsed by the Circuit stewards; these claims having been heretofore reported by the Preacher only to the District Meetings, which were composed of Preachers, and were often at a distance from the local Quarterly Meetings. The District Meetings were allowed to decide no other temporal business without the consent of the Quarterly Meetings of the District. No person was to be admitted to the Society by the Preacher or otherwise if the Leaders' Meeting had declared the candidate inadmissible, and no member was to be expelled unless the charges against him were proved before the Leaders' Meeting. A steward or Leader could not be appointed or displaced against the will of the Leaders' Meeting. No Local Preacher could be placed upon the Plan of Local Preachers' appointments without the consent of the Local Preachers' Meeting. If at any time the Conference should deem it proper to enact any new rule for the Societies, and such rule should be objected to in the first Quarterly Meeting in any Circuit, and if the majority of the meeting, in conjunction with the Preachers, be of opinion that the enforcement of the rule would be injurious to the prosperity of the Circuit, it need not be enforced before the next Conference; nevertheless the Quarterly Meeting, refusing a new rule, should not, by publications, public meetings, or otherwise, make it a cause of contention, but must strive by every means to preserve the peace of the Connexion."

The general principles of the Connexion here laid down have been the guide and basis of Methodism ever since; with such alterations, modifications, and additions, as the altered circumstances of the body have called for.

Having given a general and connected account of these long struggles, with the final adjustment and settlement of the great difficulties which were now surmounted, it is proper to trace these gratifying results to the special assistance and guidance of Almighty God. Throughout these pages, I have endeavoured to show that Methodism was pre-eminently a *spiritual work*, based upon the conversion of John Wesley to God, and the gradual development of those Divine plans which were carried into operation by

him and his assistants, with this one object, "to spread scriptural holiness throughout the world." The period from the death of Mr. Wesley to the Conference of 1797 was the most difficult and critical in the history of Methodism; but, as an able writer observes concerning the first Conference, "The devout spirit of the Conference saved it." God, not man, bore it safely through the ordeal.

Let us look for a few moments at the manner and spirit in which these perplexed but godly men met the crisis and sought to pass through it. How earnestly they endeavoured to set aside party motives and personal interests, seeking guidance from God by fasting and prayer! Take an instance in the Conference of 1795, of which Dr. Stevens relates: "After this stormy year the Preachers resorted to their next session with intense anxiety, believing that deliverance must be there providentially vouchsafed to them, or their trials culminate in a general explosion of their organization. The session began at Manchester, July 27th, 1795. Joseph Bradford, the travelling companion of Wesley, was chosen President, and Dr. Coke Secretary. Oppressed by the perils which beset it, the Conference devoted its first day to fasting and prayer. It had reached a crisis, and the Divine Providence which had so long tested it, as in the fire, was about to lead it out of its consuming agitations; not, indeed, suddenly, but surely. Entwisle, who was present, wrote home that he 'never saw so much love among the Preachers before.' After powerful preliminary sermons on the Sabbath, the Conference met at five o'clock on Monday morning and began their devotions, which were continued till seven; again they assembled at eight, and continued together till ten; at twelve they re-assembled, and spent two hours in prayer; after which the Preachers, by themselves, partook of the Lord's Supper. 'It would rejoice your heart,' says Entwisle, 'to see how all former things are laid aside, and the persons concerned declare that they will not only forgive, but forget former grievances, and never mention them more.'"

The character of the men who under God brought about these great results was of a high order. There were the veterans, who had marched side by side with Wesley for

many years, had fought under his banner, and achieved glorious victories under his leadership. Amongst them were William Thompson, the first President of the Conference; Cownley, Moore, and Mather, who were ordained by the apostolic hands of Wesley; Hopper, Pawson, and Atmore, who had laboured long and hard and well. Amongst the men of the day who were there in their manly prime were Dr. Coke, Benson, Samuel Bradburn, Taylor, and Adam Clarke, who was just becoming a man of mark, and had yet a long and honourable career to run, enriching the literature of the Church and of the world by drawing from the ample stores of his vast and varied learning. The men of the future were Richard Watson, who brought his profound thought and solid piety to bear upon the theology of Wesleyan Methodism; Jabez Bunting, the great legislator of the body, with his clearsightedness and conclusive reasoning; Robert Newton, with his manly form, his sonorous voice, his wondrous eloquence; Joseph Entwisle, with his childlike simplicity and angelic piety. These, with a large number of other worthies, constituted the men of the past, the workers of the present, and the promise of the future.

What is further remarkable is, that during these years of distraction and trial God in a wonderful manner poured out His Holy Spirit. The word of the Preachers was attended with great power; thousands were subdued and saved, and added to the Society; so that the annual increase in the number of members was large. This is the best proof which can be given that the men who strove did not do so for party purposes, but to secure what they believed to be the best ends; and hence God made abundant use of them as instruments in carrying out His work. Their success in their holy employment served to strengthen their confidence in God, being the pledge and assurance that ultimately He would work deliverance for them from their manifold perplexities.

CHAPTER XII.

JOHN WESLEY'S SCRIPTURAL CONVERSION THE TRUE ORIGIN
OF THE WESLEYAN CHURCH.

THE heading of this chapter may be considered by some to contain a bold assertion. Be it so, but the assertion is sustained by fact. The Wesleyan Church has now grown into a complete and separate ecclesiastical organization, with its own regularly appointed Ministry, well defined polity, and mighty action; but the foundation of the whole was laid in Mr. Wesley's scriptural conversion to God; that conversion being based upon Christ, the Rock of Ages. I am not ignorant of, nor indifferent to, the prominent part which Charles Wesley and George Whitefield took in the early work of Methodism; they laboured, suffered, triumphed. But when Charles Wesley saw the manner in which his brother John departed more and more from the Established Church, he ceased to co-operate with him as an Itinerant. The Wesleyan Church has, however, a legacy of priceless value which he bequeathed to it and the world, in his spiritual psalmody. Whitefield drifted into Calvinism, and became associated with Lady Huntingdon; so that ultimately the result of his labours was absorbed mostly in Dissenting Churches. Thus John Wesley alone must be taken as the founder of that Christian denomination which bears his name, and perpetuates his labours. Nothing could be further from his desire and intention than to found such a Church. He was profoundly, and some think inconsistently, attached to the Established Church: yet he practically, though not formally, left that body, and established a separate Christian organization, which since his death has only become more clearly defined and more fully developed. Yet, throughout life, he tried to reconcile this course of action with his position as a member of the Establishment.

It has been broadly affirmed by some modern Episcopal Church Ministers and Missionaries, that the present "self-styled" Wesleyan Church is "renegade;" that, in fact, it properly belongs to the Establishment. They would thus, by one great claim, swallow up all those persons who have been gathered in through Wesleyan instrumentality. They affirm, "Mr. Wesley was a Churchman, and by sequence all his followers belong to the Church; and we have a right to them." Such reasoning may appear very futile to Englishmen who are well instructed in the technicalities of Church government; but it is not quite so easy for partially instructed African converts or ignorant Europeans to understand the real merits of the case. It will therefore be no matter of surprise, if a little prominence and distinctness is here given to this subject.

The conversion of Mr. Wesley to God is the basis of the Wesleyan Church; but *his conversion did not take place in the National Church at all, but was brought about by an instrumentality that had no connexion with that Church, namely, the Moravians.* The real ground or cause of Mr. Wesley's future action was, his discovering the plan of salvation by faith in Christ, and adopting that plan; his being born again of the Holy Ghost, and being made a new creature in Christ Jesus; his being filled with the burning love of God, and being constrained by this love to seek the salvation of others. He was thus rightly designated "the modern Apostle of experimental religion." Had it not been for his conversion, he might have been the polished collegian, the astute logician, the profound philosopher, the learned linguist, and the consecrated Priest. But, without this, he could not have been the author of a great religious movement, such as that which then sprang forth, and has since been sustained. He might have been a High Churchman, a consummate ritualist, a semi or real Papist, but no more.

His conversion did not take place in the Establishment; nor could it take place there, in the nature of things. The stream cannot rise above the fountain, and we are not acquainted with any leading Divines in the Established Church at that time, who either knew or taught the plan

of salvation by faith in Christ without the works of the law ; and consequently what they did not know, they could not possibly teach. Those who have the opportunity of perusing the works of that period will see how fully these remarks are borne out by the printed theology of that day.

No ; the Established Church was defective, was inadequate to the task,—could not meet the emergency. Therefore was it that God, having a great work to accomplish, brought Wesley and others into contact with the Moravians, who were able to “teach them the way of God more perfectly.” Hence this great work of God was from without, or beyond the pale of the Establishment ; and the foundation of this great spiritual edifice and ecclesiastical structure was not laid in the Episcopal Church, but on the broader base of a cosmopolitan plan, bringing within its range, not only another Church, but also another nation ; incorporating Germans and Germany, and in them and through them all Churches “built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner-stone.”

Let not the reader for a moment suppose that I am indifferent to the other great agencies employed in the preparation of this distinguished instrument. No ; maternal care, Oxford learning, and Moravian spirituality were required in the adaptation of this polished shaft. Mrs. Wesley fostered the opening genius, and moulded the methodical mind. The Charterhouse School and Oxford University gave mental culture, scholarly polish, and solid erudition. But Moravian simplicity and spirituality took all these golden preparations, brought them to the cross, and laid them on “that altar which sanctifieth the gift.” Then the mighty impulse of converting grace sent forth this special instrument, and caused it to effect a wonderful and lasting work.

Divine grace was the central spring of all the greatness, goodness, and usefulness of John Wesley. The power which he wielded was the power of God ; so that, when brought into contact with Church order, the force and upheavings of his sanctified soul were too great to be con-

trolled or restrained by ecclesiastical surroundings. Thus, when the first great shock of closing church doors against him came, he exclaimed, "It were better for me to die than not preach the Gospel; yea, and even in the fields, either when I may not preach in the church, or when the church will not contain the congregation." What might not be expected from such a man, acting in accordance with, and prompted by, such Divine impulses! How bold and eloquent was the challenge to those who opposed him, in the following words!

"Suppose field-preaching to be ever so expedient, or even necessary; yet who will contest with us for this province? May we not enjoy this quiet and unmolested? unmolested, I mean, by any competitors. For who is there among you, brethren, that is willing (examine your own hearts) even to save souls from death at this price? Would not you let a thousand souls perish, rather than you would be the instrument of rescuing them thus? I do not speak now with regard to conscience, but to the inconveniences that must accompany it. Can you sustain them if you would? Can you bear the summer sun to beat upon your naked head? Can you suffer the wintry rain or wind, from whatever quarter it blows? Are you able to stand in the open air, without any covering or defence, when God casteth abroad His snow like wool, or scattereth His hoar-frost like ashes? And yet these are some of the smallest inconveniences which accompany field-preaching. Far beyond all these are the contradiction of sinners, the scoffs both of the great vulgar and the small; contempt and reproach of very kind; often more than verbal affronts, stupid, brutal violence; sometimes to the hazard of health, or limbs, or life. Brethren, do you envy us this honour? What, I pray, would buy you to be a Field-Preacher? Or what, think you, could induce any man of common sense to continue therein one year, unless he had a full conviction in himself that it was the will of God concerning him?"

What is still more remarkable is, that not only did the Established Church *not* bring about the conversion of the Wesleys and Whitefield, but, when they were converted

and prepared for extensive usefulness, the Church did not employ them, but *cast them from its pale*. Either judicial blindness, or rigid order, or godless indifference, induced the Clergy of the National Church to oppose, instead of encouraging this great movement. Had they encouraged it, it might probably have been absorbed in the Establishment. In this respect they had not the clear-sightedness or political acumen of the Church of Rome, which, when Loyola arose, instead of thrusting him out, saw at once how he might be incorporated in it, and made subservient to its great designs. The Society of Jesuits was formed, and its propagandism has effected more for the fallen and corrupt Church of Rome than any other agency. But it was far different with Wesley and his coadjutors: they were rejected from the pulpits of the State Church, and, in many instances, the godless Clergy became the instigators and abettors of bitter and barbarous persecution. Wesley's original intention was, to impart spiritual life and power to the Establishment, not to separate from it; but in this he was disappointed and defeated; he and his work were thrown off, as an oppressive incubus, or as an unwelcome appendage; and hence arose by natural steps, providentially marked out, the present **WESLEYAN CHURCH**.

CHAPTER XIII.

METHODISM A SCRIPTURAL CHURCH.

WE have, in the preceding pages, endeavoured to show how Mr. Wesley separated step by step from the Established Church of England, and formed a distinct Christian Church, independent of that Establishment. In name and sympathy he still adhered to it, so far as its ecclesiastical polity was concerned; but he had in reality formed a separate organization, which, if not carried out in all its details before his death, yet, in all the principles, facts, and essentials, was a separate independent Church. All the acts of the Conferences since his death have not been separation; they have been merely *arranging and adapting the essentials of the Church, which were placed in their hands by Wesley himself*. I make this statement advisedly and deliberately, having before my mind all that has been said by zealous High Church partisans. The Wesleyan Church is not renegade: it has not departed from the spirit and practice of its founder; but is still what its founder made it, with such modifications as times and circumstances have required.

In the previous chapter it was affirmed that the scriptural conversion of John Wesley was the basis of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; and that he grounded on that great fact a second, in placing the work of God in the salvation of man above conformity to Church order and rule. Had it not been for the latter fact, based upon the former, Methodism as a Church would not have existed, but must have been absorbed in the Establishment. Charles Wesley was equally converted to God with John; he was equally zealous; preached abroad, and bore contumely and persecution, just as did his brother John; but, when he ultimately saw whereunto these things would lead, he drew back; he was too devoted to the Church of England to violate its orders, and to run the risk of a separate

Church being consummated. So would it have been with John, but for what is now distinctly noted. John Wesley had been a great stickler for Church order, and thought that to save souls out of a church was almost sin; but another spirit had come over him: "A dispensation of the Gospel being committed to me, I did not dare not to preach the Gospel; if in a church, well; if not, in the fields, anywhere. I had better die than not preach the Gospel." From this noble, philanthropic design he never departed; when perplexed and tried, he never wavered, but was borne onward by an impulse higher than Church order or conformity: his mission was Divine. These two facts combined gave Methodism to the world. Then followed, in natural order, the establishment of the "United Societies:" after this, the accumulated pressure demanded a lay Ministry: as a consequence that could not be obviated, these Ministers must have chapels to preach in; they were built, and dotted over the land. The work thus begun and carried on *must be perpetuated* when the hand and heart which brought it into existence had passed away. Hence a separate independent organization must be effected. The "Deed of Declaration" is prepared; the chapels are secured; the Conference is formed; the itinerancy is established; Ministers are ordained; the sacraments are administered, and the whole polity of the Church is established. So that, at the death of Wesley, he had done all that could be done, except to pronounce a formal declaration of separation and independence. The Methodist Church was already formed and established.

The succeeding seven years, after Wesley's death, were difficult, if not stormy; but they were not so in the sense of having to lay down new principles, or effect radical changes in old ones. It could not reasonably be supposed that when the master mind and strong hand of Wesley were removed, one hundred men, however excellent, or well-informed, and desirous of doing their best, could mould these materials into organic shape, and order their future harmonious working, without some trouble, or without at times appearing to endanger the whole work. But they sought assistance from God, and He granted them their petition.

When in the midst of their perplexities and trials, they did not endeavour to settle them by an appeal to popular feeling or excited clamour ; but, as we have seen, sought from God by fasting and prayer the guidance which their new and altered circumstances required. This consideration should deeply impress those of after ages. It was not “ grasping for power ” on the part of those earnest men to make the Conference dominant, in order to “ lord it over God’s heritage ; ” but their object was, to make such regulations as were in accordance with the principles which they had received, and such laws as were best adapted to carry out the designs of the Founder. A glance down the last seventy years will show the amount of their success.

Wesleyan Methodism is now a distinct, independent, scriptural Church. The following quotations will give Mr. Wesley’s views upon this subject, with some explanations and comments from Dr. Stevens’s able pen : “ ‘ Here, then, is a clear, unexceptionable answer to that question, What is the Church ? The Catholic or Universal Church is all the persons in the universe whom God hath so called out of the world as to entitle them to the preceding character ; as to be “ one body,” united by “ one Spirit ; ” having “ one faith, one hope, one baptism ; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in them all.” That part of this great body of the Universal Church which inhabits any one kingdom or nation, we may properly term a national Church ; as the Church of France, the Church of England, the Church of Scotland. A smaller part of the Universal Church are the Christians that inhabit one city or town ; as the Church of Ephesus, and the rest of the seven Churches mentioned in the Revelation. Two or three Christian believers united together are a Church in the narrowest sense of the word. Such was the Church in the house of Philemon, and that in the house of Nymphas, mentioned Col. iv. 15. *A particular Church may, therefore, consist of any number of members, whether two or three, or two or three millions.* But still, whether they be larger or smaller, the same idea is to be preserved. They are one body ; and have one Spirit, one Lord, one hope, one faith, one baptism ; one God and Father of all.’ ”

“According to this definition, Wesley must have considered his own congregations or Societies as real Churches. If ‘two or three Christian believers united together are a Church;’ if ‘several of those whom God hath called out of the world, uniting together in one congregation, formed a larger Church;’ if ‘a particular Church may consist of any number of members, whether two or three, or two or three millions,’ what were his Societies but Churches?”

“While, therefore, he paused not in the beginning to anticipate whether the associations of his people would become permanent Churches, or even permanent Societies, it would seem impossible to doubt that, according to his definition of a Church, they did become, in his own estimation, a genuine Church, and that, in gradually giving them, as providential circumstances required, an organic form, under which the preaching of ‘the pure word of God’ and ‘the sacraments duly administered’ were provided for them, he conceded their just claim to that character, though he wished them not to be dislocated, as such, from the national Establishment, which to him was a spiritual Church only in its spiritually-minded membership, and beyond this only an ecclesiastico-political institution.”

“At first he knew not what consistence or form his own Societies would take; he had no anxiety on that point; he left it to the Providence which, he believed, was directing him. But we have seen him taking step after step for their more thorough organization. He and his clerical associates administer to them the sacraments in their own humble preaching-houses; and he allows them, at last, to worship in their chapels during ‘church hours.’ Are the sacraments ‘duly administered’ essential to a true Church? He would qualify the phrase, yet he ordains Lay Preachers to duly administer them to his Societies in Scotland, and then in America, and finally in England itself. Did he, then, still believe that they were ‘Societies,’ but not Churches?”

“He completes their organization, at last, by a discipline and constitution, and provides for their permanent existence, but never changes their terms of membership, as

recorded in the 'General Rules;' never inserts a dogmatic requirement in that document; and in his last years more than ever boasts of the liberality of his system. Did he not, then, consider the 'General Rules' as a sufficient basis of Church communion?

"But did he not provide a standard of doctrines for his people? Do not the deeds of his churches and the courts of England recognise his Notes on the New Testament and a portion of his Sermons as that standard?"

The above quotations must settle the question in the minds of all who are disposed to take a candid and impartial view of the subject; but many, both Churchmen and Dissenters, have, by force of prejudice, been disinclined to take such a view of it. "The first of these parties," says Dr. Smith, "comprises the Papists and the High Churchmen, with many others in the National Establishment, who deny that the Wesleyan Preachers have any scriptural ministerial appointment or position. They repudiate the validity and efficacy of the sacraments as administered by them, and consider the whole community in a state of schism. The other class is found in the ranks of extreme Dissent. They maintain that the Methodist Conferences of 1795 and 1797, instead of conferring any boon, or giving any additional privileges to their Societies, actually—from a lust of power and thirst for aggrandizement—robbed them of rights and powers previously possessed, thereby violating the first principles which ought to regulate the internal economy of a Christian Church, and perpetuating a vicious and corrupt ecclesiastical system."

The High Church party, both in England and the Colonies, has resisted all evidence with the greatest pertinacity, and, in order to do so, has resorted to the most unworthy methods, involving the violation of truth. As Dr. Stevens writes: "The chief difficulty among 'Churchmen,' respecting Wesley's view of his United Society, arises from the fact that they have not appreciated his distinction between a simple, spiritual Church and a national Church. His tenacious regard for the latter, as existing in his country, has led them to disbelieve that he recognised the former as existing in his own United Society. They have even

accused his successors of mutilating some of his writings which favour the Establishment. Alexander Knox, who venerated Wesley, has (Appendix to Southey's Wesley, ii., 362, Am. ed.) charged them with 'mutilating' an entry in his Journal for Oct. 24th, 1786, and cancelling a passage for Jan. 2nd, 1787, which he affirms were in the original editions. He says, 'that in every edition subsequent to Wesley's death the former passage is mutilated, and the latter wholly cancelled.' The reader will find these very passages precisely given in all the editions, American and English, of Wesley's Works since his death! Knox also accuses the publishers of suppressing Wesley's Sermon on 'The Ministerial Office.' By turning to any edition, American or English, of Wesley's Sermons, this very sermon will be found numbered one hundred and thirty; and Moore, in his 'Life of Wesley,' published as early as 1792, one year after the death of Wesley, makes special comments on it. I cannot account for Knox's extraordinary mistake; the bitterness of his false charge is accountable enough on the ground of his High Churchmanship. 'Their suppression,' he says, 'is remarkable not only for the wily policy of the act itself, but also as it serves to illustrate the kind of influence under which Mr. Wesley was placed during the last years of his life: 'a favourite supposition of Churchmen, which has been sufficiently refuted in these volumes.'

How bad the cause which needs supporting by such means! And how wonderful the blindness with which ecclesiastical prejudice clouds even a cultivated and acute mind!

The fact is, they have failed in apprehending Mr. Wesley's views, both in reference to a scriptural Church and a Christian Ministry. Wesley regarded a true Church as consisting of "two or three, or two or three million" persons, truly converted to God, and having the ordinances of religion duly administered,—not as consisting in any ecclesiastical polity or material building whatever. He considered a scriptural call to the Ministry, not as consisting in the "laying on of hands" by any Church dignitary, but in being "moved by the Holy Spirit to take upon

them that office and Ministry;" and being separated to that Ministry by the Church. If there is added the imposition of hands, well; but if not, they have the call of heaven, and the call of God; and as the greater includes the less, so with this call they must go forth; and if God gives His sanction to their ministry, this is a proof that they go not a "warfare at their own charges," but, by the high commission of Him, do battle against sin, and Satan, and the world; and God "works with them with signs following." Others took the shadow, Wesley the substance; others confided in the form, he in the power.

He believed that he was a true *Episcopos*, and that he had the power to ordain others, if need be; he used that power, and an ordained Ministry arose out of it. He believed that the pretended Apostolic Succession was a figment, and was sure that it could not be satisfactorily traced; still, supposing that it could, its pedigree, as given by its assertors, leads through such an impure channel that honourable men might blush to own it. Wesley maintained that the true succession was not a line of men carrying virtue and power by some secret sanction conveyed by the laying on of hands; but the succession of apostolic truth and power, evinced by apostolic labours, sufferings, and triumphs; and in this opinion he was undoubtedly right.

The late Rev. George Steward thus sums up Church government in his work entitled, "The Principles of Church Government:" "The scriptural claims of Methodism to be regarded as a Church, we have shown. It remains only to add here an observation or two on its origin and history. Undoubtedly, the Founder of Methodism possessed, as a Presbyterian, the right of forming his converts into a Church, instead of holding them as mere Societies. He had the requisite authority, they possessed the requisite qualifications, as drawn from the New Testament representations of persons appropriate to a Church state—viz., 'the saints which are in Christ Jesus.' Although the nature of the Founder's position to the Established Church,—his sense of reverence and duty towards it, and his cherished views of the mission of Methodism on its

behalf, and on religion generally, kept him back from all the necessary steps to this object ; nevertheless, the principles he brought into operation, and the organization he adopted, as well as the men he was obliged to call in as helpers in his work, did all but necessitate the issue, subsequently made definite. Where the elements of a Church exist, (unless absorbed by some co-existing body,) they must needs assume a characteristic shape : they form a plastic substance, which gives out its own mould, members, stature, just as does the principle of life. Churches there may be in this elementary state, but in order to their being fully recognised according to Scripture rule, there must be 'set in order the things that are wanting.' Distinct public worship must be set up, and rights avowed and acted upon with respect to the ordinances, and all other administrative parts of Christianity—they must stand fully on Christ's ordinance, which embraces as a cardinal matter that of the Ministry. How does the case stand then with respect to Methodism ?

"First, we have its Founder, by his own personal exertions, raising up multitudes of spiritual people, in all respects fitted for Church communion, but temporarily withheld from some of their privileges by prudential reasons, yet requiring these to complete their position. Just in accordance with the position of the people, was that of the band of helpers called together by the Founder.

"Substantially they were Ministers, because authorized and separated teachers ; and invested also with ruling powers, subject only to the Founder's supervision. There was only wanting to them the power of administering the ordinances, to complete their power as Ministers, a power withheld for like prudential reasons with those affecting the people, but afterwards altered by the necessities of their altered position on the death of Wesley. If, then, the argument for the validity of Methodism, as a Church, depends upon that which concludes for the validity of its Ministry, it is sufficiently safe, it stands on a scriptural footing throughout ; the very accidents which mark its history confirm, instead of weakening, this, indicating a course of Providence in unison with the design and nature

of its mission. It is one of those instances of the progressive development of a principle, till it fully embraces a prescribed scope, which so generally marks the hand of God. There was nothing merely conventional about it—it went on, step by step, as did Wesley's successes from the beginning. The body of Itinerant Preachers constitute the living descendants of Wesley, both in his office and mission. They are the normal Ministry of Methodism, and claim to be regarded as the types and representatives of the system in their joint capacity."

The views thus clearly expressed by this excellent author upon Wesleyan Church polity are still further enunciated by an accomplished writer in a recent number of the "London Quarterly Review:" "All Wesley's variations and irregularities as a Churchman, fundamental and numberless as these were, were forced upon him by the necessities of the great Mission work in which he had been constrained to engage. If Wesley had submitted to be a regular and tractable Churchman, that work must have been arrested and broken up. And after Wesley's death the Methodist Conference walked most strictly in their Founder's steps; they separated no further than they were compelled; they suffered the peace of the Connexion to be most seriously embroiled, and allowed many of their Churches to be brought to the verge of dissolution before they consented to permit even the gradual extension of separate services in church hours, and of sacramental administrations by their own Preachers for the members of their Societies. In giving this guarded permission, they still did but follow the precedent of Wesley, and act in conformity with his spirit and principles. They never at any time decreed a separation of Methodism from the Church of England; that separation was effected by the Society's members distinctively and individually, not at all on the suggestion, or in any way by the action or authority, of Conference. The Wesleyan Conference did not, in fact, recognise and provide for the actual condition of ecclesiastical independency into which the Connexion had been brought until that condition had long existed; and Methodist Preachers abstained from using the style and title appropriate to

ordained Ministers, or in any way from assuming collectively the language of complete pastoral responsibility, until, by the universal action of the Connexion, their people had, of their own will, separated themselves from the Church of England, and forced their Ministers into the full position and relation of pastors—pastors in common of a common flock, who recognised them alone as their pastors, and amongst whom they itinerated by mutual arrangement.” *

This quotation shows how the complete separation and independent organization of the Methodist Church were forced upon the Conference by the condition of the Societies in existence and their actual working. The following extract demonstrates how Wesley himself saw that the course of conduct which he had adopted must inevitably lead to that result; unless the Church of England should prevent it by timely reformation, and making such arrangements as might absorb it in the Establishment: “Mr. Wesley was well aware that what he had done amounted to partial separation from the Church of England, and that this was likely to spread further and further; he knew that he had done a number of things, each of which contained the principle of a complete separation, unless the Church of England should take some special means of reform, extension, and comprehension to avert such a separation, and to gather into organic connection the Churches of Methodism. His longing was that such means might be taken: and, as long as it was possible, he would, for his part, keep the door for union open. His object was not division or separation, but revival and reanimation. Hence his stout and invincible opposition to all proposals for express and general separation from the Church. If separation was to ensue, he would leave the blame of it entirely on the supineness or the contempt and intolerance of the Anglican Clergy. His hand, at least, should not sever the tie. He knew, however, that unless a change came over the character and policy of the Clergy, a separation must come before long after his death. He knew that the very steps he had taken had shown the way to effect such a separa-

* “London Quarterly Review” for 1868, pp. 284, 285.

tion : and he never repented of those steps, although he saw most clearly whither they pointed. Had the Church known the day of her visitation, no separation need have ensued. If it did not, a separation was inevitable, and even desirable ; and it was necessary that the way to wisely provide against it should be indicated ; besides, every one of those steps had been imperatively forced upon him by the necessities of his evangelical labours. Providence had indicated them. The work must have been brought to a stand without them. And if, through the obstinacy of the Church of England, steps thus forced upon Wesley were to prepare the way of separation, this also must be right, and in the order of Providence."

The fact is, that, in strictly correct phraseology, the independent existence of the Methodist Church is not a "separation" at all: it is simply the gradual *growth* of scriptural truth and experimental religion with an organization adapted thereto. There has been *no schism—no division—no separation* ; but, on the contrary, a long progressive development, which has by degrees assumed the attitude and attained the form and power of distinct organization, Church order, and wide-spread action. Bishops, Clergy, Magistrates and mobs tried to strangle or crush this newborn, heaven-born life and fire and power ; as being unnatural, a deformity, a curse : but in vain, it lived, it still lives, and it will live until scriptural holiness is spread over all the globe. Wesley himself says, "We have in a course of years, out of necessity, slowly and wisely varied in some points of discipline, by preaching in the fields, by extemporary prayer, by employing Lay Preachers, by forming and regulating Societies, and by holding yearly Conferences. But we did none of these things till we were convinced that we could no longer omit them, but at the peril of our souls."

In this chapter the following five positions are illustrated and established : 1. What constitutes a scriptural Church. 2. By the Wesleys and their coadjutors the materials for forming a scriptural Church were provided, in the converts whom they made, and the Societies which they established. 3. These materials were presented to the Conferences, as

requiring provision for their separate organic existence, and the supply of their varied spiritual wants. 4. Mr. Wesley saw whereunto his line of action would lead; but he neither repented of what he had done, nor adopted means to prevent the result. 5. From all these concurrent circumstances, facts, and events, a true scriptural Church was established; and now this Church exists in a separate, independent form, with its multifarious arrangements and adaptations for carrying on the work of God in the world. It has already attained huge proportions and great power, and promises in the future to become increasingly an instrument for good in the earth.

The Established Church of England is now in a distracted and enfeebled state, with High Church ritualism carrying it to Rome on the one hand, and Rationalistic comprehension dragging it into infidelity on the other. In this state of weakness and confusion, the evangelical party in it are anxious for some method to be adopted by which Methodism may be absorbed in the Establishment. Our limited space does not allow us to enter fully into the discussion of this question, or to point out the impracticability of the Wesleyan Church being absorbed in the Established Church of England; but we must be content to give the admirable summing up of the article in the "London Quarterly" from which quotations have already been made:

"Methodism, then, as we have noted, if it were to be 'reconciled' to the Church of England, would have to part company with other Christian Churches and communions throughout the world. The liberty of friendship and co-operation which it now enjoys would have to be given up. From a large and wealthy place, where almost all evangelical Churches can meet, it would have to retire into a very strait room.

"But what we would particularly ask Churchmen to consider is, that the genius of Methodism and of Anglican Episcopacy are mutually repellent and exclusive. In the Church of England every thing depends upon and descends from the Minister, or, as they say, from the 'Priest.' This is not the case in Methodism. No Leader can be appointed without the concurring vote of the 'Leaders' Meeting,"

nor any Local Preacher be admitted on trial or into full recognition, except on the resolution and by the vote of the Local Preachers' Meeting. The power of discipline is, to a large extent, in the hands of the Leaders' Meeting. No member can be censured or expelled unless he has been found guilty at a Leaders' Meeting, or by a Committee of a Quarterly Meeting. No Minister can be introduced into the pulpit of a Methodist chapel who has not been recommended to the Ministry by a Quarterly Meeting of the Circuit to which he belongs. All this, we apprehend, is contrary to the essential principles of the Church of England. How could these provisions be admitted into harmony with an organization, in which the sole and absolute power of the Clergy, as such, to admit to communion or repel, is, however it may be in practical abeyance, a fundamental principle, and in which the law of patronage remains supreme? Moreover, it would be impossible for the Church of England to admit all Wesleyan Ministers, merely as such, to take full pastoral rank and authority in the administration of the sacraments. To do so would be to renounce the dogma of sacerdotal succession, and to admit that the validity of orders has no relation to Episcopal authority. And, on the other hand, it is certain that neither the Methodist people nor their Ministers would endure a word of re-ordination, or consent to the relinquishment of the right of sacramental administration.

“ Besides, it is just as likely that Methodism should absorb Anglican Episcopacy as that Anglican Episcopacy should absorb Methodism. Methodism has already, within the network of its own sister or daughter Churches, a more widespread and a more numerous connexion and communion of Churches—a vaster host of adherents than Anglican Episcopacy can sum up in all its branches and correlatives. As a world power, Methodism is much the more potent in its operation and influence. For the Church of England (so called) now to absorb Methodism would be a portentous operation. It would be more hazardous than to put new wine into old bottles.

“ But surely, in all reason and decency, the Church of England should heal her own breaches before her congresses

give sittings to consider how to effect the inclusion and reconciliation of Nonconformists within her own pale. There are three parties within the Church of England,—High, Broad, and Low. If the High are to reconcile Nonconformists with themselves, Nonconformists must embrace apostolic succession and sacramental efficacy—in fact, embrace that which, in its essentials, is Popery. If the Nonconformists are to be reconciled on the principles of the Low Church, they must contrive to harmonize evangelical Calvinism with the Prayer-book, if not also with the fable of apostolical succession, which, fascinating dream as it is to the strange vanity of Churchmen, is held by some even among the Low Church Clergy. If, again, Nonconformists are to be reconciled on the principles of the Broad Church, they must make up their minds to accept a latitude of faith and construction in matters of religion which will dissolve all definite theology, and all distinctions between faith and unbelief, between the Church and the world, doing away at the same time with all Church discipline and with all real and earnest Christian fellowship.”

This chapter may be fitly closed by a quotation from a letter of the late Rev. L. H. Wiseman, which appeared in the “Times” newspaper of September, 1867. It shows the relative strength, at that date, of the Methodists and the Anglican Episcopalians.

“In the United Kingdom there are belonging to the original Wesleyan Society 356,727 recognised and registered members. Careful inquiries have shown that for every member three other persons may be added, either as regular hearers though not avowed members, or as children of members who are being brought up in the faith of their parents; thus giving a total of a million and a half of adherents. In Australia, the West Indies, Canada, and other Colonies where the English language is spoken, the number calculated in the same way will be about 570,000 more. The several bodies which have separated on disciplinary grounds—none of them on any doctrinal ground—from the original Society number in England and in the Colonies 288,000 members, or 1,152,000 adherents. It will thus be seen that in England and its dependencies

considerably over three million persons are attached to the Methodist communions. If we turn to the United States, a recent return places the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church at 1,700,000: the numbers cannot be given at present with absolute exactness from some of the Churches in the South. It is generally estimated, however, in the United States that this Church numbers not less than seven million adherents; and there are, in addition, as is the case in England, minor bodies which have separated from the parent Church, though still holding the Methodist name and discipline, whose followers may be estimated at a million more. Putting all these numbers together, it will appear that the several branches of the Methodist communion number between eleven and twelve million persons in those countries where the English language is spoken. Taking the same area of comparison, what now is the number of adherents to the Anglican Communion? To begin with the United Kingdom, it is well known that in Scotland and Ireland they form only a small part of the population; but in England they probably equal all the Nonconforming bodies put together..... Allowing for Ireland and Scotland, it appears a fair calculation to allow to her eight millions of adherents in the United Kingdom. As to the Colonies computation is difficult. Throughout Canada and Australia the number of Methodist Clergy and places of worship greatly exceeds the number belonging to the Church of England; for example, the number of Methodist Clergy in Canada last year was 1,003, and of Anglicans 479; but let it be supposed that the number of Churchmen in the Colonies is a million, or nearly double the number we have put down for the Methodists, and let the Anglicans in the United States, whose communicants have been estimated at 250,000, be put down at a million or a million and a half more, the total number of adherents will then be ten millions or ten millions and a half against the eleven millions and upwards belonging to the Methodists."

These statistics were furnished to the public in September, 1867; but the rapid progress made in that year and subsequently would of course give a much larger

return. There were more than 100,000 members added to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States in 1875, and in other parts of the world the increase was in almost an equal ratio ; so that the numbers are augmented with accelerated force from year to year.

There are some who say, "We do not like this tabulated manner of putting the subject ; 'comparisons are odious,' and not to be relied upon." But we answer that this is the only way in which anything like a correct estimate can be formed of the relative number and force of the two Churches.

It is also affirmed that this numbering savours too much of parade and show, and is only the ebullition of pride and ostentation. We reply that it is not so of necessity, and in our own case is not so in reality and fact. Many of us have had to feel that *the parade and ostentation have been on the other side* ; and it is only by the stern reality of facts and figures that we can maintain our position and establish the truth. At the same time we would give all the glory to that Holy Being from whom all real good proceeds ; and we should only be too thankful if the Anglican Church were more free from error and more energetic in the promulgation of *evangelical* truth. Often, when we would say "God speed," we are repulsed by high-sounding pretensions and ritualistic absurdities. The author of these pages would be thankful indeed if the Missionary operations of the Episcopalians in this country (Africa), especially among the natives, were more calculated to teach men the way of salvation by simple faith in Christ, and to lead them to personal trust in Him alone for pardon, instead of setting forth their own special dogmas, and raising up High Church observances in the place of the cross of Christ.

The reader can judge with what show of fairness the Episcopalians represent to our people that the Wesleyan Church is no Church, and that therefore the natives and others must be incorporated into their ranks, in order to obtain proper Church status.

CHAPTER XIV.

WESLEYAN CHURCH POLITY.

THE subject of Wesleyan Church polity is large, and requires a volume, rather than a chapter, for its ample treatment. In the brief space at our disposal nothing more can be done than to state a few of the great leading principles and facts upon which this vast ecclesiastical edifice is erected.

It is admitted by all writers upon ecclesiastical polity, whether they favour Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, that there are no fixed rules or specifications in the Inspired Records to render any particular form of Church polity obligatory; and that much is left to the age, country, and circumstances of the people who embrace Christianity, to decide which particular form of government should be adopted. The advocates of Episcopacy are not generally willing to allow this; but probably those who hold Presbyterian or Congregational views have as much scriptural warrant for the system they advocate, as the Episcopalians have for theirs. The limits of this volume will not admit of my entering upon the wide subject of Church organization in general. I must therefore confine my observations to the Wesleyan polity, merely reminding the reader, in reference to the whole subject, that “where there is no law, there is no transgression.”

The polity of the Wesleyan Church embraces two distinct parts; namely, that which belongs specifically and legitimately to the Ministry, and that which is exercised by the laity. Not that these points are isolated the one from the other, or inimical the one to the other, but that each one has its own privileges and duties. In reference to the former, it has already been stated that the great basis of the Connexion is the Conference; that the legal Conference is solely and absolutely *ministerial*, being composed of one hundred Ministers; and that it claims, as

its inalienable prerogative, the power of government, in making laws, and in the enforcement of discipline. It tenaciously holds the power to admit and expel the members of its own body; and, through the pastorate, the members of the Church. It maintains the Connexional principle, by which it insists upon the power to appoint the Preachers annually to the different chapels, and by which it becomes obligatory on the part of the Ministers to preach only Wesleyan doctrines. It is also made the final court of appeal from all the inferior courts of the body. But, although the Conference claims and administers these large prerogatives, yet the laity have also important and responsible action in the Church. It must be so in the nature of things, as one of the peculiarities of Methodism is, the very great extent to which Mr. Wesley brought lay action into operation in his Societies; and it would be alike unreasonable and impolitic to exclude laymen from a prominent place in the organization. Indeed, Methodism could not be carried on, in all its extensive ramifications, without thus recognising them. It therefore becomes incumbent on us to consider each part separately, in order to have a clear view of the whole.

Before remarking upon the constitution of Methodism, it is proper to observe that it was brought into existence by Wesley, with the sole motive of saving souls from death, and "spreading scriptural holiness through the land." Mr. Wesley, during his life, claimed the sole power of superintending the order which he had created; but all who have calmly examined his history, and impartially observed his spirit and conduct, must be convinced that he lived, laboured, and governed, only for the spiritual benefit of those whom God had placed under his care in so extraordinary a manner. He held power as he believed it to be placed in his hands by God; whether it was so or not, is another question: but he believed it to be so. This power, this sacred trust, he held and used, not for ambitious purposes, as Dr. Southey at one time thought, but solely for the benefit of the souls which God had given him as his spiritual children. This power in the course of time must

naturally drop from his hands, and he must descend to the grave. His deep concern, therefore, for many years, was, how it might safely be delegated to others, so as to conserve this great work, and not to destroy it, nor to suffer it to fall to the ground. After years of thought, of counsel, and of prayer, he prepared "the Deed of Declaration," (as observed in a former chapter,) by which he delegated or transferred the power possessed by himself to one hundred Ministers, with authority to fill up the vacancies as they might occur:—not that these one hundred Ministers should arrogate to themselves authority over their brethren, but simply be placed in trust, and have additional responsibility. The power thus invested in the one hundred Ministers, without a single layman, constituted the foundation on which the whole body rested and still rests. By this means all the chapels are legally secured for the use of those by whom, and for whom, they were built; a regular Ministry is supplied; scriptural doctrines are preached; and godly discipline is administered.

The great difficulty of the Conference has been, to work out or elaborate a system, by which this delegated authority might be used for the good of the whole Connexion, and especially in such a manner as would allow the lay element to have full and free action, without jar or break; and unless we have proof to the contrary, we are bound on Christian grounds to admit, that the Conference uses its delegated power in the same spirit and manner as that in which it received it from the original Founder.

Mr. Watson thus states the subject: "That appointment was in the hands of its Founder; it passed from him, by his own appointment, into the hand of the Conference, and was finally settled there by consent of all, under certain regulations which restricted the administration of its powers. This has been the state of things to this day. We are under a government common to all the Societies; that government is vested in the Conference, but subject to various regulations which restrain its exercise. Nothing new in principle has therefore been introduced of which you can complain; and if any just reason of dissatisfaction exists, it can only be found in the acts of the Conference,

or of some other subordinate authority, not in any fundamental change of the system.

“To the same effect run all the declarations and resolutions of Conference, whenever disturbances in the body have required it to speak out on the matters which it has viewed as included in its sacred trust.”

“By the ‘Deed of Declaration’ enrolled in Chancery, the full validity of which has been acknowledged by the highest Courts in the land, Mr. Wesley has so fixed the constitution of the Conference, that it must always consist, as he declares it has always heretofore consisted, of the Ministry of the Connexion. On this foundation, that the Conference shall consist of Ministers alone, does Methodism, as a system acknowledged by law, completely rest.”

Mr. Steward also, in his treatise on “Church Government,” (p. 236,) thus alludes to the matter: “Unless, then, the fundamental principle of Methodism be trampled on, the Conference must remain the same unmixed body of men, so long as it exists for other and higher reasons than those of expediency or the laws of the realm. It must repudiate such an intermixture: it is stereotyped with immutability,—not by Wesley, and his Poll Deed, but by the supreme ordinance of the Great Head of the Church. The Conference stands or falls with this ordinance, as it interprets it, and as it has been interpreted for it by its Founder; and it is highly important that the people of Methodism understand this, that they may understand on what grounds they wage war with the Conference at any time, for effecting a change in its constitution. Their war is with the principle lying at the foundation of their government, which, so long as it abides in force, must array the conscience of every Minister in the body against them. They cannot, ought not to surrender, unless honestly converted to other opinions.”

Several secessions from the *primitive* body (a term which, as applied to one of the offshoots of Methodism, is simply a misnomer) have taken place, mostly on the ground that the Conference would not allow lay delegates to be brought into it for the purpose of taking an active share in its government. The last secession was by far the most

serious and extensive ; about one hundred thousand members being thereby lost to the Wesleyan Society. From those who remained numerous memorials were sent to Conference, and the whole subject was taken into very serious and prayerful consideration. The result at that time is thus given in the "Minutes" of 1852, pp. 156-8 :

" Q. XXX. What is the decision of the Conference on the Report of the Committee appointed last year, 'carefully to examine the principal suggestions contained in the memorials and other communications, as well as those put forth in the Declaration of the Manchester Meeting?'

" A. I. The Conference approves and confirms the following Resolutions, which the Committee adopted 'by way of preamble to its Report: '—

" 1. The Committee, previously to its entering on the consideration of these communications and suggestions, feels itself bound, by the solemn and lately-affirmed Declaratory Resolutions of the Conference, *to except* from such consideration all suggestions manifestly contravening any of the three great principles avowed in those Resolutions ; namely, the integrity of the *Pastoral Office*,—the inviolability of the *Connexional Principle*,—and the authority of *District Committees*.

" In particular,—

" 2. In conformity with the obligation imposed by the *first* of these three principles, and with reference to certain suggestions contained in some of the Memorials and other communications, the Committee feels itself to be precluded from entertaining any proposal which would go to transfer, altogether or in part, the responsibility of the *sentence* in disciplinary cases, from the Pastorate to Lay Officers, whether in a Leaders' Meeting or elsewhere. In any case, to adopt such a course of procedure would be to give up a principle which, in the judgment of the Conference, is essentially inherent in the Pastoral Office. For, according to the New Testament, the Ministers of Christ who are made by Him the *Pastors* of His Church, are charged, in the most solemn terms, to 'feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof ;' are described as 'having the rule over' God's people ; are required to 'rule well' their 'own

house ;' 'for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God ?' (1 Tim. iii. 5;) and are expressly commanded to 'reject' offenders 'after the first and second admonition ;'—and all this in order that they may render the final account of their stewardship 'with joy, and not with grief.' Should a Leaders' Meeting, by its vote, determine the sentence, the Minister presiding would, in most cases, be little more than the mere organ of the Meeting in matters in which, nevertheless, he feels himself under a peculiar responsibility to the great Head of the Church. That peculiar responsibility, except on the extreme and (to a Wesleyan Minister) inadmissible theory of making the authority of the Pastor simply co-ordinate with that of Leaders and other Lay Officers, cannot be supposed to rest in anything like an equal degree on any other member of the Leaders' or other Local Meeting ; and the obligations which it involves cannot be otherwise discharged than in conjunction with the right, on the part of the Pastor, of exercising an authority commensurate with that responsibility. On the same principle, in all cases of appeal from Circuit authorities, the responsibility, and consequently the determination of the sentence, must of necessity be with the collective Pastorate of the District, and ultimately with the Conference, as the collective Pastorate of the Connexion.

"3. By the *second* of these principles in conjunction with the *first*, the Committee is restrained from giving any countenance to proposals for 'establishing, especially as it regards disciplinary matters, the absolute local independency, either of single Societies, or Circuits, or Districts ;' all such proposals involving principles which, taken in their natural working and necessary consequences, amount virtually to nothing less than a suggestion for the abandonment of our Connexional system.

"4. By the *third* of these principles, in connexion with the *first* and *second*, the Committee deems itself to be restrained from encouraging any attempt to interfere either with the constitution or the jurisdiction of *Ordinary* District Committees, as recognised by the regulations of the Conference, and the established practice of the Connexion.

With respect to *Special District Meetings*, the Committee feels itself to be under similar restraint; the Conference of 1850 having shown that 'this method of procedure necessarily grows out of the Scriptural principles which the Conference has adopted as the basis of its pastoral authority, and the ecclesiastical order which is essential to us as a Connexion, and which have therefore been uniformly acted on;' and having declared that it is resolved to adhere to this practice *on important occasions*, 'not only as being necessary to the due maintenance of our Connexional discipline, but also as furnishing to the *People* (as well as to the *Ministers*) one of the strongest and most availing securities they can possess, against the hazard to which Laymen, as well as Ministers, may often be exposed, of suffering from the undue pressure of local partialities, or local prejudice and irritation.'

"5. With these exceptions, imposed by the settled principles of the Connexion, it is the earnest wish of the Committee to consider the suggestions laid before it, by Memorials or otherwise, in the spirit of Christian candour and affection; and to recommend to the Conference such modifications of our economy and discipline as may be shown to be consistent with those principles, and likely to conduce to the general benefit of the Connexion."

THE DISTRICT MEETING.—This Meeting, here held in-violate, is composed of all the Ministers residing in a certain neighbourhood, the Circuits being grouped together, for the transaction of important local business; by which means the time of the Conference is saved to a considerable extent. As Dr. Smith remarks, "Much controversy has been carried on respecting this topic, which we think might have been obviated by one simple consideration. The district Committees were appointed immediately after Wesley's death, to afford the Connexion in its several localities that effective supervision which had been lost by the death of the Founder of Methodism. The District Meeting is therefore competent to do all that Wesley could do, with only this limitation,—that as he would act in consistency with himself, so the District Committee must act in consistency with the Resolutions of Conference, and can only possess

authority from one Conference to another. The terms of the original Minute are: 'The Assistant of a Circuit shall have authority to summon the Preachers of his District, who are in full Connexion, on any critical case, which according to the best of his judgment merits such an interference.....And their decision shall be final till the meeting of the next Conference.' "

The Financial District Meeting is held in September, when the Stewards of the various Circuits attend, and financial business connected with the various chapel and Connexional funds is transacted. Time is also given for special prayer in which the laity take part.

Having considered the constitution of the Conference, and shown that it is ministerial in its governing power, it is for us now to notice how far the lay element is permitted to exert its influence and raise its voice. That the Conference is not an unlimited clerical despotism admits of ample proof. Numerous guards are thrown about its action, which must circumscribe its power, and prevent any acts of tyranny. Taking the fact as undoubted that the Conference is the supreme governing power, the question is, How far has it gone in arranging a liberal policy and limiting its own action? The answer will show that the Connexion is now a well defined compact body, securing a large amount of religious liberty to the laity, as well as retaining the independence of the governing body.

There are three points which I wish to make prominent. First: The Ministry is the creation of the people; so that it is the people's Ministry. Second: Whilst legislation is the prerogative of the Conference, this prerogative is largely controlled by lay action. Third: Although the power to expel members is retained by the Ministers, still it is so surrounded with guards as to prevent this being ordinarily done in a capricious or tyrannical manner: at the same time it is proper to observe that the Church is a voluntary association, and members can leave, when not satisfied with its constitution or acts.

THE QUARTERLY MEETING is the court of laymen under the presidency of the Superintending Minister of the Cir-

it; and claims our first notice. The Quarterly Meeting as not defined until 1852. The definition given in the Minutes " for that year (p. 159) is as follows :

" Considering that *there is a very general desire expressed in the Memorials* referred to the Committee, that the proper constitution of a Quarterly Meeting should be defined ; and considering further the desirableness of precluding in future such debate and contention as have occasionally risen from the uncertainty existing on this subject ; the Conference hereby declares that the following parties, and others, shall be formally recognised as Members of the Quarterly Meeting ; namely,

" 1. All the Ministers and Preachers on trial in the Circuit, and the Supernumeraries whose names appear in the printed Minutes of the Conference.

" 2. The Circuit Stewards, all the Society Stewards, and the Poor Stewards.

" 3. All the Class-Leaders in the Circuit.

" 4. All the Local Preachers of three years' continuous standing, after having been twelve months on trial ; they being resident Members of Society in the Circuit.

" 5. All the Trustees of Chapels situate in places named in the Circuit Plan ; such Trustees being resident Members of Society in the Circuit.

" The Conference further recommends,

" 1. The immediate adoption of this Plan for the constitution of the Quarterly Meeting in those Circuits in which it can be introduced in a peaceful and satisfactory manner.—N.B. It is not designed that the adoption of this Plan should have the effect of excluding any Local Preacher, who, though not yet of the standing therein required, is already, according to local usage, a Member of the Quarterly Meeting.

" 2. In Circuits in which this Plan may not be at once adopted, it is, nevertheless, enjoined that all new Members brought into the Quarterly Meeting be introduced according to its provisions."

This defines who the persons or Church officers are that compose the Meeting, but does not state the nature of the business transacted by them. The Circuit or Quarterly

Meeting is held at the close of every quarter, when the officers above named assemble to transact all the business relating to their own Circuit. The Society Stewards from each place in the Circuit pay over to the Circuit Stewards the moneys raised in each particular place towards the support of the Ministers in the Circuit. The Circuit Steward places the whole together, and pays the Ministers' stipends therefrom. Whilst the Quarterly Meeting cannot pay less than a certain *minimum* to the Ministers, it has power to increase the amount, if the funds will permit its doing so.

The Superintendent Minister, on his part, produces his Circuit Schedule, in which the number of members and of those on trial is carefully inserted, with a statement of increase or decrease, and the reason thereof. Thus the financial and spiritual state of the Circuit is brought under review, the general or particular state of the Society is commented upon, and such methods are adopted as are calculated to advance the work of God in the Circuit.

CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY.—The above matters of business having been disposed of, if there are any Candidates for the Ministry, being young men whose scriptural conversion and promising gifts point them out as suitable persons to enter the full Ministry, having been Local Preachers some time already; they are nominated by the Chairman, being generally known to all present as having been brought up amongst them. Each member of the Meeting is at liberty to ask suitable questions and make his own remarks; after which the vote is taken and the candidates are accepted or rejected by the suffrages of their brethren.

It has been objected against the Conference that it claims the power to accept or reject its own Ministers, and is itself a Clerical Corporation. But the fact is, that the Conference can do nothing at all, until the young men are sent to it from the Quarterly Meeting; and then it has only the power of rejecting after due examination any who may be thought unsuitable for the Ministry; so that actually the Ministry itself is the creation of the lay members of the body; and if any improper person finds his

ay into the ranks of the Pastorate, he has been sent there by the people themselves. Hence the great responsibility attached to the action of the Quarterly Meeting. Personal sympathies and party interests should have no place here.

This is not all. The Conference, as we have stated, claims the right of appointing Ministers to their Circuits, to officiate in certain chapels; and the trustees of such chapels are bound to receive them; but they must preach certain specified doctrines, and administer certain well-defined discipline; and if any of these Ministers fails in his duty, and preaches erroneous doctrine, or is immoral in conduct, the Laity at once step in and arrest the real or supposed evil; for, by the "Plan of Pacification" of 1795, was provided, "That, if a majority of the trustees, or majority of the stewards and Leaders of any Society, believe that any Preacher appointed for their Circuit is immoral, erroneous in doctrine, or deficient in abilities, or that he has broken any of the Rules, they have power to summon the Preachers of the District, and all the trustees, stewards, and Leaders of that Circuit; and if a majority of such meeting find such charge well founded, such Preacher shall be considered as removed from that Circuit, and his place be supplied by the "District Committee."

This proviso still exists, with certain modifications. The offending Minister is at once brought before a Special District Meeting, put upon his trial, and, if found faulty or guilty, suspended until the District Meeting. If not then able to clear himself, he is brought before the Conference; and then, if no lighter punishment will meet the offence, he is expelled. But, in addition to this, provision is made to supply his place until the Conference, so that the Circuit may not suffer. Is there any other Church, I would ask, that has an organization so simple, so direct, so complete? I know not any.

Besides the Quarterly Meeting there is also the Local Preachers' Meeting; but this is confined solely to business connected with their office and work, and has no action, either in trying characters, or communicating with the Conference. If a Local Preacher is immoral, his offence

is brought to a Leaders' Meeting; he is tried and punished as a member, and his offices cease as a natural consequence: but if he is erroneous in doctrine, or deficient in abilities as a Local Preacher, these things are dealt with in a meeting of his peers.

LEGISLATION.—Again, the Conference is the supreme legislative body; but how far does it allow legislation to be influenced and controlled by the Laity? Does it simply take its own ministerial views, develop them in laws, and force them upon the people? Certainly not. The Constitution of the Conference may be as fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians; but in connexion with lay Church officers, especially trustees, it has allowed its own action to be controlled to a great extent.

This is done principally by mixed Committees, in which there are an equal number of laymen to that of Ministers; and also by "Memorials" from Circuits, which go direct to Conference.

To give a list of some of the more important of those Committees is all that my space admits. They are,—the Committee of Privileges, of Missions, of Schools, of Book Affairs, of Chapel Affairs, (twenty-five Ministers, twenty-eight Laymen,) of Watering Places, of Home Missions and Contingent Fund, of Army and Navy, of Worn out Ministers' Fund, of Theological Institution, of Education, (Westminster College,) Lord's Day, &c., &c., &c.

Here are twelve Committees enumerated, embracing all the great subjects upon which the Conference has to legislate. These Committees are large and influential; half of them are laymen. The members of these Committees are taken from all parts of England, and embrace a large portion of the intelligence and wealth of the Church, men of all political creeds, in all departments of business, who bring all their tact and talent to bear upon the particular economies of the subject under consideration. Some of these Committees meet several times during the year, and all the most important ones assemble in the Conference town during the week preceding the sitting of that body.

At the Conference of 1867 the venerable Thomas Jackson gave the first speech at the meeting of the first Com-

nittee, *i. e.*, "The General Education Committee;" in which the following remarks are found. He said, "I do not know, Mr. President, why I should be called upon to move the first Resolution at this meeting, except it be that I am a sort of relic of a former age, and seem to be lingering in this world. However, here I am. My heart beats as true to the cause of Methodism as it ever did. I have been thinking since I entered this chapel of the difference between former times and the present. It is just fifty-nine years since I came to Bristol to be received into full Connexion. Circuit Stewards were never seen at our Conference in those days, unless it were a Circuit Steward came to remonstrate upon some subject. You will give me leave to say, as an old man, and as an old Methodist Preacher, here is nothing gives me greater satisfaction in contemplating the present state of the work of God among us in our religious community than to witness these annual gatherings of our lay friends with us. They give us their countenance, they give us their counsels, they give us their support; and though some of us may be tolerably fluent Preachers in the pulpit, many of us do not excel in financial matters. At least I am conscious I never did. My financial arrangements during a long life have been carried on on a limited scale, and I should feel myself perfectly incompetent to manage the financial affairs of the various institutions of Methodism; and, as an old Methodist Preacher, I do from my heart and soul welcome our lay friends, and thank them for their attendance, and for their support and counsel. What is the Conference? and what is the whole body of Methodist Preachers without the society of Methodist lay friends? Ay, and what are the lay friends without the Preachers? We are strong when we are united. We are nothing when we are separated. Then let that union be perpetual, and let it be strengthened, and may God's blessing attend that union in perpetuity."

Here is the connecting link between Methodism as it was after Mr. Wesley left the world, and the present time; and we see how greatly lay influence and action have increased in the Connexion; yes, and how advantageously

too. But, apart from its historical interest, this statement is touching, as coming from an old and honoured Minister, bending over the grave, after sixty years of holy toil. It breathes the spirit of love, and pours forth its heavenly benedictions. May the sons in the Ministry possess the same spirit, and emulate the same honoured example !

At these meetings, after each subject has undergone the fullest consideration and investigation, decisions are arrived at, and resolutions passed, which go from thence direct to Conference. Thus the legislation of the Conference is prepared to its hand. But it will be said that the Conference has power to alter, modify, or reject. And so it should have, or otherwise it becomes a nonentity. But those who have attended Conference, as the writer did after twenty-seven years' absence from England, will observe with what very great deference the resolutions of the Committees are treated ; how few alterations are made ; scarcely one resolution being rejected ; and if any are not adopted, they are probably deferred, rather than thrown out, in order to give time for greater deliberation, and to incorporate any new matter that is thought desirable.

“ Yes, but the Conference has power to legislate, without those Committees.” Truly so ; but when it does, and makes a new rule, does it send forth that rule to be enforced at once ? Not so ; according to the “ Plan of Pacification ” of 1795, it was enacted, “ That if at any time the Conference see it necessary to make any new rule for the Societies at large, and such rule shall be objected to in the first Quarterly Meeting in any Circuit, and if the major part of that Meeting, in conjunction with the Preachers, be of opinion that the enforcing of such rule in that Circuit will be injurious to the prosperity of that Circuit, it shall not be enforced, in opposition to the judgment of such Quarterly Meeting, before the second Conference. Nevertheless, the Quarterly Meeting rejecting a new rule shall not, by publications, public meetings, or otherwise, make that rule a cause of contention ; but shall strive by every means to preserve the peace of the Connexion.”

Hereby the power is given to the laity to decline accepting a new rule for a year, and the Quarterly Meeting can

express its opinion upon it ; sending it back to Conference, requesting that it may not become law, or may receive suggested modifications, &c. Every candid person must thus see that the fullest scope is given to the voice of the people to be heard.

MEMORIALS.—In addition to the above, Circuits have the power to memorialize Conference direct, under the following regulations : (“Minutes” for 1852, pp. 159–161:)

“Although persuaded that much undue prejudice has been created against the Regulations concerning the Special Meeting *for the purpose of memorializing the Conference on Connexional subjects*, which were enacted in 1835, the Conference, nevertheless, deems those Regulations susceptible of being improved by modifications connecting them with the June Quarterly Meeting, as now defined ; and, being desirous to provide for the free access of Circuits to the Conference, when any matters arise which they regard as of sufficient importance to become the subjects of Memorial, the Conference adopts, instead of the Minutes of 1835 *on this subject*, the following Regulations ; namely,

“1. That should a majority of the June Quarterly Meeting in any Circuit, constituted according to the preceding definition, be of opinion that it is desirable to address to the Conference a Memorial on any Connexional subject, and agree to do so, that Meeting itself, subject to the Regulations which follow, shall have authority to adopt and transmit to the Conference such a Memorial ; and at such Meeting any member thereof may propose, for consideration, the propriety of addressing a Memorial to the Conference.

“2. That not less than ten days previously to the June Quarterly Meeting, *a copy* in writing shall be given to the Superintendent, of the particular motion or resolution which any member of the Quarterly Meeting intends to propose as the basis of a Memorial to the Conference ; and no proposal, of which such *notice* has not been given, shall be brought forward that year. But, should the Quarterly Meeting adopt the *substance* or *principle* of a resolution so brought forward, it may amend, as well as simply adopt or reject it.

“3 A Memorial, founded on such motion or resolution, if approved by a majority of the persons present, shall be signed by them individually within a week afterwards. It shall then remain with the Superintendent, who shall be responsible for its delivery to the President of the ensuing Conference, on or before the second day of its session. All Memorials thus received by the Conference shall be referred to a Committee of its members; who shall carefully examine, consider, and classify the whole, and present their report thereon to the Conference.

“With regard to the *subjects* of such Memorials, the Conference cannot entertain any proposals which are of a manifestly revolutionary character, or subversive of that system of doctrine or discipline which has been confided to it as a sacred deposit by Mr. Wesley, and which, as it believes, has also been committed to its keeping by the providence and grace of God; neither can it sanction such Memorials as involve a direct interference on the part of one Circuit with the local affairs or proceedings of any other Circuit.”

It has been further objected, that the Conference asserts the power to expel members from Society, that is, through the Pastorate; instead of assigning it to local courts, or allowing the joint action of laymen in connexion with the Ministers. This is admitted. But what are the guards thrown around this power, so as to prevent arbitrary action? First: A Superintendent cannot admit a member into Society, if the majority of the Leaders' Meeting are opposed to it. (“Standing Rules.”) Second: If it is found needful to expel a member for improper conduct, before this can be done, the person can demand a trial before a Leaders' Meeting; the Meeting forming the “jury” to pronounce as to the guilt or innocence of the person accused. If found guilty, the Minister has to pronounce sentence; but he does not do this even until the next meeting, or until he has conversed with his colleagues; thus affording time for any feeling to subside or for new light on the subject to appear. If the Superintendent feels it his duty to expel the member, and if the member is not satisfied with the sentence, he can appeal to a “Special Circuit Meeting;”

the nature of which is thus defined in the "Minutes" of 1852:

"The Conference, after long and careful deliberation, agrees that, *instead* of such appeal by the *Superintendent* to a Minor District Meeting, as is provided by the Minutes of 1835, (under the title 'Expulsion of Members,' vol. vii., p. 582,)—and *before* an appeal be made to the Pastorate of the District,—a *second trial* shall take place within the Circuit. And, while objecting, on principle, to invest the Quarterly Meeting with the power of *final* decision in cases of discipline, the Conference enacts,—

"1. That when such a case as the preceding paragraphs describe shall occur, the Superintendent shall be authorized to require a *re-hearing by a Special Circuit Meeting*, consisting of not more than twelve Lay Members of the Quarterly Meeting, as herein-before defined, to be chosen *for the occasion* by that Meeting in such manner as it may deem proper.

"2. That at such Special Circuit Meeting the Chairman of the District shall preside; or, in case of unavoidable absence, shall appoint some other Minister of the District to preside in his place.

"3. That the Meeting thus constituted shall have full power to re-hear the case.

"4. That if, on such re-hearing, the accused party (whether a Leader, Local Preacher, Trustee, or other local Officer, or Member of Society without any office) be found guilty by the verdict of the Special Circuit Meeting, the case shall then be left in the hands of the Pastorate; and the Superintendent be empowered, after advising with the Chairman and his own colleagues, to remove the party, so convicted, from the Society, or to administer any other measure of discipline which may be deemed sufficient.

"5. That, if the party so tried by the Special Circuit Meeting be dissatisfied with the *sentence* of the Superintendent, he shall have the right of appeal, *first*, to the Annual District Meeting, and afterwards, if still dissatisfied, to the Conference.

"6. The Leaders' Meeting and the Special Circuit Meeting for re-hearing are entitled to declare, by their *verdict*,

whether the facts alleged are, or are not, proved to their satisfaction ; and whether, in their opinion, those facts are violations 'of the Laws of God, or of our own Body.' And the *verdict* of a Meeting for re-hearing is not to be reversed, unless a Special District Meeting or the Conference interpose, and deem that justice requires such reversal.

"7. In most instances it is highly probable that a verdict which, from any cause, may have been given by a Leaders' Meeting 'in contradiction to law and evidence,' will, on a *re-hearing* of the case by a Special Circuit Meeting, appointed by the Quarterly Meeting, be corrected. But should the result unhappily show that the spirit of faction, or any other misleading influence, so extensively prevails in the Circuit as to prevent the ordinary administration of godly discipline, in such case it is to be understood that the Superintendent retains the right of appeal to the collective Pastorate of the District ; and that the District Committee may then interpose by virtue of the powers with which it was originally invested in 1791, and which from that time it has exercised in great emergencies, and may adopt such measures (disciplinary or otherwise) as it may deem necessary to meet the 'critical case' in question, [*Min.*, 1791, vol. i., p. 241,] and to maintain discipline and order in the disturbed Circuit 'till the meeting of the next Conference, when the Chairman of the Committee shall lay the Minutes of its proceedings before the Conference.' [*Ibid.*]

"8. Should the Quarterly Meeting refuse to appoint a Special Meeting to re-hear the case, or should the persons appointed refuse to give any verdict, the Superintendent may, at once, appeal, in the usual form, to the District Committee."

If still dissatisfied, the accused can appeal to the District Committee, and ultimately to the Conference.

To a stranger or mere looker on, this system appears complex and difficult of working : but it is not so in reality, if results are to be the test of success : it is worked with considerable harmony and great effect. It is not for us to say that Ministers may not act in an arbitrary manner, and with too little regard for the feelings and interests of

members, or that partiality may not influence their conduct on some occasions. A perfect system would be something more than human. But to infallibility the Wesleyan Clergy and laymen make no pretension, being satisfied if they can be happy and holy themselves, and can promote holiness and happiness around them.

One of the great distinguishing characteristics of Methodism is, that its doctrinal and scriptural functions are mostly clerical, while its temporalities are guided and controlled by the laity. Another of its great excellencies is, that it possesses the inherent power of preserving its own orthodoxy and purity. No sooner does a Minister become erroneous in doctrine, or immoral in conduct, than the evil is detected, and the remedy applied ; the broken wheel is taken out, and a new one put in with but little damage ; the slender shaft too weak for the pressure is removed, and a stronger one supplied. In this respect it differs greatly from the Established Church of England on the one hand, and from Dissenting Churches on the other.

In the Establishment the order is not Church and State, but State and Church ; the civil power is supreme. Hence, if heterodoxy or immorality, on the part of Ministers, lead astray or destroy the flock, there is no power to remedy the evil. The Clergy, the Bishops and the Archbishops, may unite and combine, may try, and condemn, and depose a delinquent ; but he at once appeals to the civil power, which decides the question, not on its doctrinal or spiritual merits, but according to the technicality of the law, concerning the interpretation of which there is often great difference of opinion, so that long and expensive litigation ensues ; and the result probably is, that the decision of the highest ecclesiastical authority is revoked, and an adverse sentence given ; the offender glories in his triumph, and an infidel Bishop or Popish Priest may first lead the flock astray, and then precipitate them into ruin.

Happily, on the other hand, the Churches of Dissent have not of late years so frequently departed from the faith of their forefathers, as in days gone by. Formerly it was not uncommon to find chapels built by orthodox Dissenters occupied by Arian or Socinian Ministers and congregations.

Philosophy and vain conceit are dangerous foes, when allowed to enter unceremoniously the sacred precincts of the Church, unless that Church is guided by the pure light of revelation, and guarded by a wholesome and scriptural discipline.

The preceding outline of Wesleyan polity had been prepared previous to the action which has recently taken place relative to Lay Representation in the Conference. For some time past this subject had been gradually assuming a very grave aspect, and events had transpired of such a nature as to force it upon the Conference and the Connexion in such a manner as not to admit of further delay with safety. Happily the parties most concerned, both lay and clerical, were loyal to Methodism. The subject was not taken up as the result of angry agitation, but from a growing conviction in the minds of all parties that the time had arrived when, to meet the altered state of the times, that which could not have been done before with advantage now admitted of safe action. Hence, at the Conference of 1875, a large Ministerial Committee was appointed; as also another, in which laymen were united with an equal number of Ministers, forming what was called the "Mixed Committee." These two Committees met separately and at different times shortly before the Conference of 1876, when the whole subject was taken up and discussed in its different aspects and bearings; and resolutions were passed, recommending the Conference to take action upon the subject at once by the admission into the Conference of a number of laymen equal to that of the Ministers, for the performance of such duties as related to the temporalities of the Church, without infringing upon those which appertained to the vocation of the strictly pastoral office. Dr. Punshon was the distinguished Minister who proposed the principal resolution in the Conference. He said:

"The subject before them was one of great gravity, and one which should be approached on all sides with the utmost sincerity of motive, integrity of purpose, prayerfulness of spirit, and charity towards others. If ever there was a time when it was necessary that there should be in

their hearts the law of kindness, and on their lips the spirit of love, he hoped that that would be the occasion. For himself he felt the most perfect love for every one of the brethren. He was taking a position that morning which was to a certain extent foreign to him, but which he felt bound by conscientious convictions of duty to take. He was going to move, with certain verbal alterations, the third resolution of the Mixed Committee. He would first review the case."

Here Dr. Punshon sketched the history of this movement from the time when the subject was first formally brought before the Newcastle Conference in 1873, to the present time; and then said:

"Mr. President, I am no theorizer upon these matters, and, for myself, I am not disposed to think that lay representation will either damage the Connexion to the extent which some of those who oppose its introduction imagine, or benefit the Connexion to the extent which some of those who are very ardent in its favour are sometimes disposed to dream. I believe, however, (and I must be excused for making this reference,) that in moving this resolution I am doing nothing contrary to my obligation as a Methodist Preacher. I hope I need not say that I have studied my Ordination vows, and that anything which I believe to be a violation of their letter or spirit it would be impossible for me to do. If I cannot say that much, I am not worthy of a place in your communion at all. I feel no hesitation or misgiving on that part of the matter. And at the same time I beg to say that I am not dissatisfied personally with the report of the Ministerial Committee. I could go in for either of the reports that have been presented to the Conference this morning. So far, I am not wedded to any particular scheme; but I remember the wonderful consent of sentiment—a consent of sentiment so marvellous, when we consider the differing natures of the men who were present in that Mixed Committee, that I have felt it my duty to do what I would willingly have been excused from doing—to come, so to speak, to the front in this discussion, and to present for the consideration and adoption of the Conference the third part of this resolution: 'That it

is expedient that lay representatives shall be admitted into and take part in the proceedings of the Conference during the time when such matters shall be considered and decided as shall be declared to be within the province of Ministers and laymen acting conjointly.' In moving this resolution I do not think I am departing from any sacred obligation under which I have come ; or that I am doing otherwise than extending the old lines of the constitution of Methodism ; or that I am abating in one jot or tittle the pastoral rights of the Ministry ; or that I am doing anything that will damage either our Connexional unity or that wonderful process of consolidation and extension through which God has been pleased to put us, and in the extension of which I believe the future prosperity and blessing of Methodism lies. I do not wish to enter upon the discussion as to the merits of the question ; I simply beg to move this resolution."

The Rev. E. J. Robinson seconded the resolution ; and a very able and lengthy discussion followed, which well became the men and the occasion, but which is so well analysed in the leading article which I quote from the " Watchman " that note or comment is not needful here. The final result was the passing of Dr. Punshon's resolution in the following form : " That lay representatives shall be admitted into and take part in the proceedings of the Conference during the time when such matters shall be considered and decided as shall be hereinafter declared to be within the province of Ministers and laymen acting conjointly ; but that the details of the proposed scheme be referred to the District Meetings when the laymen are present, and subsequently to a Mixed Committee to be appointed by this Conference, that shall present a report to the Conference of 1877 for final settlement." This resolution being put to the Conference, there were 369 in favour of it, and 49 against it,—majority 320. Thus the great principle of lay representation was settled ; the final details not being agreed upon and filled in until the Conference of 1877. No apology is needful for the introduction of the following article, taken from the London " Watchman " of August 16th, 1876, which gives a very lucid and philosophical

analysis of the subject of debate and of the more notable speeches :

“ Our readers have had ample time to study this great debate, and doubtless have not failed to do so. In that case they will kindly follow us in the remarks which we propose to make upon it. The question to which it related the gravest ecclesiastical one which has been raised among us during the present generation and that which receded it ; and the change which has been agreed upon, without doubt, the most critical and important one ever made in our economy. While saying this, we must point out that it is not a question or a change affecting the vital and fundamental principles of that economy. It is rather an adaptation to modern times and to modern needs and changes of a principle which has underlain our ecclesiastical procedure for more than seventy-five years—namely, that while spiritual and pastoral administration lies within the exclusive province of the Christian pastorate, the oversight and administration of the temporal affairs of the church are properly entrusted to the laity in conjunction with the Ministry. The Conference almost immediately after Wesley’s death openly and honestly avowed this principle ; and every stage in the development of Methodism has been marked by its more complete adoption. In 1728, 1835, and 1852, great modifications were introduced with the purpose and effect of increasing the amount of lay influence in temporal administration ; and when, shortly after the last-named year, the Conference provided for the election, by laymen only, of a *representative layman* in every district of the Connexion, it laid down a principle which would not fail to be still further developed, and was sure to lead to the adoption of some such measure as has now been agreed upon. That principle has been adopted in the institution of the Special Committees which have been appointed during recent years to deal with urgent and critical questions ; notably in the Special Committees on education and the Constitution of the Committees of review ; and it is altogether a mistake to speak of its introduction into the Conference itself as if it were a radical and revolutionary development. We agree with

the ingenious and eloquent speaker who exclaimed, 'It is not revolution; it is evolution.'

"We cannot but congratulate our section of the Church upon the exceeding interest of the debate itself, and the vast amount of logical acumen, scriptural learning, administrative talent and experience, rhetorical grace, and splendid elocution which were exhibited during its progress. Few, if any assemblies, whether ecclesiastical or political, have ever witnessed a greater. It was unmistakably a 'battle of the giants;' and no one, whatever may be his special views on the question itself, can do otherwise than admire and be thankful for the evidence afforded that the Methodism of our day is in no way inferior as to the intellectual and moral vigour of its Ministry to that of the past, even of that great 'Middle Age,' as the late Dr. Smith designated the epoch which such men as Richard Watson, Jabez Bunting, Robert Newton, James Dixon, and Thomas Jackson adorned and benefitted. Whatever could be said in opposition to the thing proposed—namely, the admission of laymen into Conference during the transaction of business now considered and decided on in the Annual Committees of Review—was said as well as it was possible to say it by Mr. Pope, Mr. J. R. Hargreaves, Dr. Jobson, Mr. Bedford, and Dr. Osborn. It should be noted, however, that though all these spoke in favour of an amendment to the effect that the whole scheme prepared by the Special Committee should be referred, as to both principle and detail, to the consideration of the District Meetings, they by no means all stood upon the same ground. There is a very marked and wide difference, for instance, between the position taken up by Mr. Pope and perhaps Dr. Jobson, on the one hand, and that assumed by Messrs. J. R. Hargreaves and Bedford. Neither of the last-named gentlemen was disposed absolutely to negative the proposals of the Committee. Mr. Bedford's speech was studiously moderate; and admitted frankly and fully that the principle of the scheme neither assailed the pastoral office, nor violated the Deed Poll. His objections seemed to turn chiefly on the possible insufficiency of the legal opinions which had so much influenced the

committee's decision, and on the doubt as to whether the limits of time prescribed by the Deed Poll would permit the transaction of the whole business of the Conference in some eighteen days. We are not intending to argue the question; but we must point out that, if the legal opinions are correct, the whole of the business with which laymen are to be concerned can, if necessary, be transacted outside those limits. The Deed Poll affects questions of trust property; and whatever proceedings or enactments involve such questions, must be done in the way and by the parties prescribed in that instrument; but all other matters may be considered when, and as, and by whom, the requirements or discretion of the Connexion may dictate.

“As to those speeches on the same side which took the highest ground—and especially as to the argument of Mr. Hooper's very able and beautifully written letter—we venture to think that they were addressed against, not the scheme actually under consideration, but the proposals which were made on former occasions of strife and bitterness, and which the Conference, at enormous cost, steadily and successfully resisted. In that point of view it is not disrespectful to speak of most of the arguments adduced as anachronisms. Very much of what was said was really relevant to a scheme which, in view of pastoral rights and responsibilities, did not assail them, did not propose to abridge them one *iota*, but reaffirmed and reserved them in the most solemn and deliberate manner, and made their explicit assertion an essential principle in the very basis of the new constitution. And, as to the Deed Poll, the same relevancy was marked and pointed out. The latest and best opinions that have been obtained declare that the scheme relates to things of which that instrument takes no cognizance.

“If we turn to the other side, the wonderful issue of the debate—the practical unanimity with which the principle of the scheme was carried—justifies us, without any disrespect to the minority, in dwelling upon the immense preponderance of argument in favour of that principle. Mr. E. J. Robinson's ingenious and witty speech in seconding the motion of Dr. Punshon was worthy of the reputation

won by him as mover of a corresponding one in the Special Committee. Mr. Arthur's address appeared to exhaust the whole question. As an historical induction ; as a luminous, close, and overwhelming argument ; as the counsels of 'a brother beloved,' breathing the most tender and confiding spirit of fraternal affection ; as imbued with the spirit of perfect consecration to the advancement of Methodism and of God's work ; that address will never be forgotten. It did very much to give to the debate the lofty moral and intellectual tone which, with scarcely a momentary exception, characterized its progress. Dr. Rigg's absence in America during the incubation of the scheme prevented his taking that prominent part which his antecedents, and the extent and accuracy of his knowledge of our history and constitution, would otherwise have assigned him ; but the speech in which he expressed his general concurrence with the Committee was wise and weighty. Mr. Gregory's scholarly, polished, and witty deliverance, and Mr. Perks's thoughtful and practical utterance, greatly helped on the solution. On Mr. Olver devolved the chief burden of replying to Dr. Osborn ; and he evidently approached his task with a deep and almost crushing sense of its difficulty. For modesty of demeanour and expression ; for clear, compressed, luminous logic ; for keen and searching analysis ; for ready and penetrating repartee ; for moderation of sentiment and language ; for philosophic and statesmanlike breadth of view ; for perfect self-command and complete personal dignity, this great speech will be long remembered, and is worthy of repeated study as a model speech in such an assembly as the Wesleyan Conference.

“And what are we to say of Dr. Punshon's reply upon the whole question ? By the confession even of his most earnest opponents, he far surpassed even himself. No aspect of the case escaped his notice, no argument of his antagonists was left undealt with or unanswered ; no pleasantry even was unmatched with a still more appropriate and entertaining one. The genial and happy way in which he exposed even the absurd and ridiculous sides of the opposite case—and every case in this world has its absurd and ridiculous side—moved the Conference again

and again to irrepressible and hearty laughter, in which even those who were hardest hit by the exposure could not help joining. Then the light of poetical inspiration and the magic of imagination threw a lustre upon, and a halo of beauty around, the whole address, which can hardly be appreciated by merely reading the report of it; and the impassioned eloquence of the speaker rang like a rumpet-note through the excited audience, and ultimately brought down the house' with a thunder of applause.

"Such was this truly great discussion. As to the result itself, we do not hesitate to express our thankful concurrence with it. Especially do we rejoice in the enormous majority by which the principle was voted. A narrow one would have awakened serious apprehensions of subsequent agitation and disturbance. But this vote will be accepted generally as indicating the will of Divine Providence. We have no doubt that the Connexion will be as unanimous as the Conference was; and we look forward, in behalf of our beloved Methodism, to a long career of united, loving, and successful toil and triumph in the Great Master's work."

CHAPTER XV.

MISSIONS IN GENERAL.

THAT Methodism should be pre-eminently a Missionary Church, cannot be matter of wonder, when it is remembered that John Wesley took for his motto, "The world is my parish;" thus at once sweeping away all names and creeds and parties and "Church order" and conventionalism and human inventions, except so far as they might contribute towards saving this large "parish." The spirit of this utterance was from above; it was the fire of Divine love; and as the love of God extends to all, so from this man, under the influence of this love, issued no limited or uncertain sound:

"O for a trumpet voice,
On all the world to call!
To bid their hearts rejoice
In Him who died for all!
For all my Lord was crucified:
For all, for all my Saviour died!"

What is further remarkable is, that no sooner did he meet with Dr. Coke, the father of Wesleyan Missions, than he at once recognised in him just the man he wanted to fill a certain place, and do a certain work, which no other man could do so well. This is still more remarkable, in that, at their first interview, the Doctor was not a saved man; as yet, he was only an earnest seeker; he only saw "men as trees walking." He was Curate of South Petherton, and was very active in the discharge of his duties. Having heard of the doings of Wesley, he was anxious to see him, and went twenty miles for that purpose. Of this interview Wesley says: "I preached at Taunton, and afterwards went with Mr. Brown to Kingston. Here I found a Clergyman, Dr. Coke, late Gentleman Commoner of Jesus College in Oxford, who came twenty miles on

urpose. I had much conversation with him ; and a union then began which I trust shall never end."

Coke was ultimately obliged to leave Petherton, on account of the opposition raised against him because of his Methodist practices ; and the people manifested their pleasure at his departure by ringing the bells, as he left the town.

He joined Wesley without delay, and soon obtained the saving grace of God, and then entered with the greatest ardour into all Wesley's plans of usefulness. He was specially adapted for a certain kind of work ; Wesley had that work to do, and at once engaged him in it. For a full account of this eminently laborious and useful man, the reader must peruse his Life by Dr. Etheridge : only two or three notices of him can be given in our limited space. He was, and is well entitled to be recognised as, 'the father of Wesleyan Missions.' He did not originate the work in America, but was the first to organize it, and ordained the first Bishop and Presbyters. Neither did he originate the work in the West Indies, but, after God had prepared the way, he was drawn there under peculiar circumstances.

"Soon after this Conference," writes Dr. Smith, "Wesley sent Dr. Coke to visit the Societies in the British dominions of North America. He was accompanied by William Warrener, who was intended to labour in Antigua, and William Hammet and John Clarke, as Missionaries to Newfoundland. The vessel which carried them was driven out of her course by distress of weather, so that on Christmas day they all landed at Antigua. What the Doctor saw there of the fruits of Mr. Baxter's ministry soon disposed him to regard his being driven out of his intended course as a very remarkable and gracious providence. He accordingly left Mr. Warrener and the two other Missionaries at Antigua, as a staff of Ministers to promote the work of God in that and the neighbouring islands."

His labours and journeyings by land and by sea continued to increase until, on the death of Wesley, we find the following account given of them by Dr. Smith :

"Dr. Coke was in America when he heard of the death

of Wesley. This was his fourth visit to that country, and his third to the West Indies, in the space of seven years. On his first visit to these islands, in 1785, he spent about six weeks in Antigua, Dominica, St. Vincent's, St. Christopher's, and St. Eustatius, and then sailed to Charlestown, where he arrived on the 10th of February, 1787. He then travelled through the country, preaching as frequently as possible; and, in conjunction with Mr. Asbury, held three Conferences. He embarked at Philadelphia, for his homeward voyage, on the 27th of May, and reached Dublin on June the 25th. Toward the end of the following year, he again crossed the Atlantic, visiting St. Vincent's, Dominica, Antigua, St. Kitt's, St. Eustatius, Jamaica, and again passed over to Charlestown on the Continent. Here he pursued his usual course of preaching, travelling, and holding Conferences in conjunction with Mr. Asbury, witnessing everywhere the prosperity of the work of God. On the 7th of June, he sailed from New York, and reached England about the middle of July. On the 28th of November, 1790, he again left this country, made another tour of the West India Islands, and was pursuing his journey through the States, when, at Port Royal in Virginia, he heard of the death of Wesley, and hastened home."

Dr. Coke had a small body, but a large soul; and having done so much for the Western world, his active spirit was directed to the Eastern hemisphere. The teeming millions of India excited his compassion, moved the depths of his soul, and would not allow him to rest until a Mission to Ceylon was consummated. Being unable longer to withstand the fire of his quenchless zeal, he, at the Conference of 1813, urged his plea with so much earnestness that the Conference was obliged to yield a reluctant compliance.

"The grand business of this Conference," says Dr. Smith, "was its arrangements to send Missionaries to the East, for the purpose of making an attempt to introduce the Gospel among the natives of India. It was well known to Dr. Coke's friends some time before, that he had set his heart upon this work. As early as 1806, when travelling in Cornwall, he obtained from Colonel Sandys, a pious gentleman who had served twenty years in India, much impor-

tant information respecting the religious condition of that country, and the prospects of Missionary success. Dr. Coke communicated this information to the Missionary Committee; and at their request Colonel Sandys sent them a written statement of what he had verbally communicated to Coke.

“The debates in Parliament, on the renewal of the Company’s charter, directed special attention to this subject; and the more so, as a resolution which merely tolerated the introduction into that country ‘of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement,’ subject ‘to the authority of the local government,’ was violently opposed in the House of Commons. The death of the pious and devoted Henry Martyn took place in Persia, October sixteenth, 1812, after a brilliant career of Missionary labour and usefulness, which contributed to impress the British public with the practicability of reaching the Asiatic mind by judicious and earnest Christian instruction.”

“The travels and stirring publications of Claudius Buchanan also did much to turn the attention of the Christians of England to the moral and spiritual misery and degradation of British subjects in India. His vivid portraiture of the abominations of Juggernaut first gave a public and popular exhibition of these foul and bloody superstitions. Coke, anxious to avail himself of every means of information, put himself in communication with Buchanan, who was the friend, correspondent, and relation of Colonel Sandys. From him Coke received further information, and a confirmation of that previously obtained from the Colonel. It is a beautiful subject for contemplation to mark this venerable Minister, at the age of sixty-six, planning the evangelization of India. We joyfully turn away from contemplating the arts of statesmen and the feats of warriors, to see an old man, who had succeeded in planting and directing successful Missions in America, the West Indies, Gibraltar, Sierra Leone, Ireland, Wales, and in the neglected districts of England, casting his eye across the mighty deep, and bending his whole soul to the glorious work of preaching Christ crucified to the heathens of India.

“To an intimate Christian friend, who endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise, principally on account of

his age, and the difficulty, at his time of life, of learning to pronounce a new language, he replied, about a month before the Conference :—‘ I am now dead to Europe and alive for India. God Himself has said to me, “ Go to Ceylon.” I am as much convinced of the will of God in this respect, as that I breathe ; so fully convinced, that methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes, and without a friend, than not go there. The Portuguese language is much spoken all round the coast of Ceylon, and indeed all along the coast of India. According to Dr. Buchanan, there are 500,000 Christians (nominal Christians, at least) in Ceylon ; and there are only two Ministers to take care of them. I am learning the Portuguese language continually, and I am perfectly certain I shall conquer it before I land in Ceylon. The fleets sail in October and January. If the Conference employ me to raise the money for the outset, I shall not be able to sail till January. I shall bear my own expenses, of course. I’ll request you to speak to the Preachers, to see whether a Preacher or two can be procured, who will consent to travel with me.’

“ With these views and feelings the Doctor attended the Conference, and propounded his whole plan. Many were startled at its magnitude, others at its daring ; and there was considerable opposition. We prefer giving the account from a manuscript in the handwriting of Benjamin Clough, one of the Missionaries, who witnessed the whole scene. ‘ When the subject was first named, many rose to oppose. Mr. Benson, with great vehemence, declared that it would be the ruin of Methodism. The debate was adjourned till the day following. Dr. Coke walked down the street, leaning on Mr. Clough’s arm, in unutterable agony : the tears flowed down his cheeks, and, almost broken-hearted, he retired to his room to pray. The following morning he was not at the Conference before breakfast. Mr. Clough called to inquire for him. The Doctor had not come down from his room : Mr. Clough knocked at the door, and, recognising his voice, Dr. Coke asked him to walk in. There he saw the most affecting spectacle. The Doctor had not been to bed, and his dishevelled silvery locks showed something of his night’s distress. Mr. Clough asked what was the matter. Pointing to the floor, the Doctor said, “ There I

have spent hours in pleading with God in behalf of India." They together went to the Conference. When the subject was resumed, the Doctor delivered a most energetic, thrilling address, which produced such an impression, that it was at once moved, seconded, and carried, that the Mission should be forthwith established. Mr. Barber was either the mover or seconder. Shortly afterwards Dr. Coke called Mr. Clough out of the Conference, and they went down the street together. With joy beaming in his eye, and a full heart, Dr. Coke said, "Did I not tell you that God would answer prayer?" " "

The Doctor made arrangements for his speedy departure. He was to be accompanied by James Lynch, William Ault, George Erskine, William M. Harvard, Thomas H. Squance, and Benjamin Clough. The four former were already Itinerant Preachers, and the two latter were admitted on trial for the full ministry. Messrs. Ault and Harvard were married, and their wives sailed with them. It is needless to detail the events of the voyage, and the consternation of the party at the Doctor's sudden death, which took place near the end of their passage. He was buried in the deep, and there awaits the final scene, when the sea must deliver up the dead that are therein. But he had originated a scheme which did not die when its great moving spirit was quenched in death. The Master of the work provided for its continuance and perpetuity.

Things had now arrived at that stage in which the work could not be executed or superintended by one man. The burden laid down by Dr. Coke must now be taken up by the whole Connexion, and thus be multiplied a thousand-fold. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed. To the town of Leeds, in Yorkshire, was assigned the honour of being the place from which emanated the definite form and enduring character of Wesleyan Missions.

An address having been prepared and circulated, its publication "was soon followed by arrangements for holding a public meeting for inaugurating a District Missionary Society. The meeting was convened for two o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the sixth of October, 1813. James Buckley and Richard Watson preached preparatory ser-

mons. This plan was quite new in Methodism. Watson had but recently returned to the Connexion, and he naturally thought that, under these circumstances, his taking a prominent part in the introductory services would lay him open to the imputation of introducing injurious novelties. His objections, however, were overruled, and he submitted, though reluctantly, to the judgment of his brethren. Buckley preached on the Tuesday evening at Armley, and Watson on the Wednesday morning at Albion Street, Leeds. This sermon, a remarkable specimen of pulpit oratory, produced a great impression. The text was, 'Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.' (Ezek. xxxvii. 9.) The preacher gave a just and striking view of the state of the heathen, the power of the Gospel, and the obligation which rests upon the Church to make provision for its universal publication. The discourse was afterward printed, and its extensive circulation was made a great blessing to the cause of Missions.

"The meeting was, however, the great feature of the movement. When the appointed hour arrived, almost every one shrunk from the serious responsibility. Here, as in the preliminary arrangements, the judgment, decision, and energy of Jabez Bunting cleared away every difficulty. After the devotional exercises, Thomas Thompson, M.P., of Hull, was called to preside. He delivered a brief address, referring to the Missionary operations of the Methodist Connexion and of other religious bodies, and urged on the congregation becoming seriousness of feeling and demeanour during the meeting. The first resolution was moved by the venerable James Wood, and seconded by William Warrener, many years a Missionary in the West Indies, but then labouring in Selby. The second resolution was moved by Charles Atmore; the third, by George Morley; the fourth, by W. G. Scarth, of Leeds; the fifth, by John Braithwaite; the sixth, by John Wood, of Wakefield; the seventh, by William Dawson. Thomas Vasey moved the tenth resolution; James Buckley the twelfth; and Jabez Bunting the sixteenth. We have only mentioned the names of those speakers whose able addresses on this most interesting occasion have been preserved for our perusal by

the ability and kind care of a gentleman who was present [the late Mr. James Nichols] Our limits forbid our attempting to give even an outline of them ; but they richly deserve the attention of all Methodists and lovers of Missions."

Thus the great Wesleyan Missionary enterprise was fairly inaugurated. Those who took part in its first services were not aware "whereunto it would grow." Truly "the little one" has "become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation." The advent of this great philanthropic institution was attended with difficulties, as most important events are ; but the difficulties were overcome, and the increase and development of the work has surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its warmest, staunchest advocates. From that time to the present the area has gradually widened and extended, until it now encircles the globe, and embraces within its evangelistic labours nearly every nation under heaven. The isles which waited for God's law have many of them received that law which "converteth the soul." Vast continents with teeming masses of human beings have not only had their coasts fringed with Mission Stations, the head quarters of laborious Missionaries, but the interior has been explored, and Africa, India, and China have had the Messengers of the Cross penetrating to the very heart of their vast solitudes or seething masses. "The north has given up, and the south has not kept back : " Christ has "brought His sons from far, and His daughters have been nursed by His side." Much of what has been done has been preparatory, and the progress consequently slow ; but conquests have been achieved in every land, and the trophies of redeeming love placed at the Saviour's feet.

But the probability is that the future ratio of speed will far outstrip the past. Mountains have had to be levelled and valleys uplifted ; rough places have had to be made plain, and crooked places straight ; but they who work and pray are encouraged to hope and believe that the time is fast approaching when Immanuel, the Prince of Peace, shall march along these highways, dispensing His saving gifts, and subduing the nations to His mild sway ; and when not only shall the Messengers of Life stand along the banks of

the river of the water of life, crying, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters," but the thirsty nations shall respond,—not single individuals, but *nations*, "WE COME;" and then hasten to slake their thirsty, weary spirits with these living waters, so as to thirst no more for the dark and turbid and poisoned waters of error and sin and death, but rise to the fountain head, and drink abundantly and for ever before the throne of God.

To attempt to give even an outline of the manner in which this great work has increased and developed is more than the limited space of this volume will permit. Those who desire more lengthened details may find them in the Rev. William Moister's "History of Wesleyan Missions:" but even this is rather a brief summary than a full account of those extensive Missions. The "Report" read at the annual Meeting of the Society in Exeter Hall, on May 1st, 1876, will fitly close this chapter:

"The Rev. Dr. Punshon read the following financial statement and abstract of the Report:—

HOME RECEIPTS.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----------|----|----|
| Mission House Donations, Subscriptions, &c. | 8,600 | 8 | 11 |
| Home Districts, including England, Wales, Scotland, and Zetland | 99,087 | 1 | 2 |
| Hibernian Missionary Society (exclusive of Christmas Offerings) | 3,605 | 13 | 8 |
| Juvenile Christmas Offerings | 12,950 | 16 | 10 |
| Legacies | 10,091 | 13 | 8 |
| Dividends on Property to secure Annuities | 914 | 19 | 4 |
| Interest on Centenary Grant | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| Lapsed Annuities | 1,300 | 0 | 0 |
| | £137,000 | 13 | 7 |

FOREIGN RECEIPTS.

| | | | |
|---|----------|----|---|
| Australasian Conference, and Mission Districts (exclusive of Canada and Eastern British America) | 22,105 | 11 | 9 |
| Total | £159,106 | 5 | 4 |

PAYMENTS.

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------|----|---|
| General Expenditure | 139,972 | 6 | 6 |
| Rome, Special ditto | 1,814 | 10 | 0 |
| Naples, ditto | 2,939 | 14 | 9 |
| Germany, ditto | 6,485 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | £151,211 | 11 | 3 |

“The Ladies’ General Committee for Female Education in Foreign Countries, and other benevolent purposes, has also expended £1,368 1s. 10*d.*, besides furnishing school materials, clothing, &c., to many parts of the Mission field, including China, India, Ceylon, Africa, Central America, Hudson’s Bay Territory, &c.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

“Missions under the immediate direction of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee and British Conference, in Europe, India, China, South and West Africa, and the West Indies.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Central or Principal Stations called Circuits | 303 |
| Chapels and other Preaching Places, in connexion with the above-mentioned Central or Principal Stations. as far as ascertained | 2,195 |
| Ministers and Assistant-Missionaries, including Supernumeraries. | 360 |
| Other Paid Agents, as Catechists, Interpreters, Day-school Teachers, &c. | 1,448 |
| Unpaid Agents, as Sabbath-school Teachers, &c. | 6,593 |
| Full and Accredited Church Members | 78,039 |
| On trial for Church-Membership | 10,045 |
| Scholars, deducting for those who attend both the Day and Sabbath schools | 72,428 |
| Printing Establishments | 3 |

“Our summary of the present state of the Missions must, from its necessary brevity, appear dry and tedious to the hearer: compensation will, however, be found by those who study attentively the large Report of the Society’s proceedings during the past year. Beginning with Ireland, the oldest Mission of Methodism, there are 35 Ministers labouring in connexion with the Irish Conference, reporting 3,566 members, and 1,770 scholars. The French Mission, (embracing a portion of Switzerland,) under the care of the French Conference, together with the English Societies, in Paris, Rheims, and Boulogne, is carried on by 37 Ministers—the members are 1,989, and the scholars, 3,005. The field of labour occupied is second to none. Measures are about to be adopted which it is hoped will give new life and vigour to this important Mission. In Italy, 2 European and 21 Italian Ministers report 1,149 members, and 866 scholars. The prospects of success are very encouraging. Whatever may be the result of political changes, neither Italy nor Spain can ever revert to their former condition. In Spain and Portugal we have 3

Ministers, and an agent in Minorca. Our members in the Peninsula, including Gibraltar, are 246 in number, with 1,096 scholars. The battle of religious liberty is at present being fought in Spain, and we await the result with some anxiety. The German Mission, which has extended from Wurtemberg to Bavaria and Austria, is carried on by 2 English and 18 German Ministers. Its Church members are 2,344, and the scholars 2,371. On these continental Missions there are in all 83 Missionaries, with 5,728 Church members, and 7,338 scholars. Some of these Missions are of an expensive character, owing to the requirement of chapels and other buildings necessary for the carrying on of the work, the cost of which must at present be borne by the Society. Their importance must not be measured by the nominal returns of members or scholars. They are exerting a moral influence which cannot be tabulated, and are as witnesses for Christ and His truth in the midst of Popish and semi-infidel populations.

“The Missions to India, Ceylon, and China, are seeking to enlighten and convert some 700,000,000, probably one half of the entire population of the globe. In this field we are co-operating with a large number of Missionary Societies connected with almost every denomination of Christians, and we regret that our share in this great work is so small. In India and Ceylon we have 89 Missionaries, of whom 52 are natives. In China, 12 Missionaries, including 1 native. The total number of our Indian and Chinese members is 3,816, and the scholars are 18,787. As few dispute the value of Christian Missions in India, since the publication of the Parliamentary reports of recent years, we are not called upon to defend them, but to press upon Christian people the duty of doing their part, and praying for those who are labouring in this most trying portion of the Mission field. The educational work is, however, very promising. Light is spreading. So also in China, from whence thousands are flocking to our Australian Colonies and the United States. It may yet be a struggle on our part to uphold our own civilization and religion in portions of America and Australia against the overwhelming flood of a Chinese immigration! It is our wisdom and our

safety to bring our Christianity boldly and emphatically, to confront the heathenism of India and China at headquarters. The danger to our colonies is not so distant as we are tempted to imagine. We have need to be up and doing, lest the next generation suffer from our remissness. The Missions in India and China have been, during the year, visited by our esteemed brother, the Rev. E. E. Jenkins, from whom several interesting letters have appeared in the 'Notices,' and whose arrival in England is daily expected.

"We now turn to Southern Africa, in which we include the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the two Dutch Republics beyond the Orange River, the Bechuana tribes to the north, and the Kaffir tribes to the east of the colony. In this colony and among the Bechuana and Kaffir tribes we have 94 Missionaries, of whom 16 are natives, who report 15,858 Church members and 16,932 scholars. In no part of the world has our Mission work been more successfully and satisfactorily carried on; savage races are being raised in the scale of civilization; a native literature has been created for those who cannot understand the English or Dutch languages; and the colonial Churches are for the most part the fruit of Missionary labour. The Rev. G. T. Perks, one of the Secretaries, who was deputed to visit these Missions, has finished his arduous task, and is expected to return by the next packet. The narrative of his journey may be seen in letters which have appeared in the 'Notices.' The vast interior of South Africa, from the Vaal River to the Central African Lakes, is open to Missionary effort. We wish and pray for the blessing of God upon the Missionary Societies which have begun to enter these openings. A great desire is felt by some of our South African brethren to share in this glorious work, and possibly in time the opportunity may be afforded to them.

"West Africa, by which we mean the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, is another base line of operation from which North Central Africa should be approached. The Gambia has providentially escaped for the present being handed over to France; and this large river, with

the populous tribes on its shores, yet remains accessible to Protestant Missionaries. In Sierra Leone the colonial work among the African settlers and other branches of the population at present fully occupies the attention of our Missionaries. On the Gold Coast we have access to Ashanti, to portions of Dahomy and the Yoruba country, as well as to the Fanti and other tribes on the coast. We are ready to resume our Missions at Kumasi, to which we are invited by the King of Ashanti; and Mr. Picot is making preparation to visit the King, in order to arrange for the residence of the Missionaries who may be sent. On this coast we have a large and valuable staff of native Missionaries. Seventeen out of our twenty-five Missionaries in West Africa are natives. The number of our Church members is 10,849, and of scholars 8,091. A native literature is growing up, to which the Missionaries of the Church of England, the German Missionaries, and our own Missionaries have largely contributed.

“In the West India Islands (with British Guiana and Honduras) the larger portion of the population is of African descent. Many circumstances stand in the way of the revival of the former material prosperity of these colonies; but there are signs of some improvement, especially in Jamaica. Ninety-one of our Missionaries labour in the West Indies, and report 43,637 members, with 28,202 scholars. In this enumeration we include Hayti with Samana and Puerto Plata in San Domingo.

“In those Missions directly under the control of the British, Irish, and French Conferences, are employed 429 Missionaries, the number of the Church members is 83,484, and of the scholars 55,120.

“There now remain the Missions in Australasia and Polynesia, under the care of the Australasian Conference, and the Missions in British North America, under the care of the Canadian Conference. We have as yet no complete returns of the members of the Australasian Churches and of the Missions. Last year the total number of Ministers was 377, and of Church members 60,142; of scholars 131,683. The most recent returns of the purely Mission work in Polynesia at the last meeting held in

February at Sydney are 80 Missionaries, of whom 63 are natives, 26,389 members, 58,475 scholars. The Chinese Mission in Victoria is not included in these returns. The numbers in Polynesia have been seriously narrowed by the recent epidemic, which carried off some thousands of the population, including above 7,500 of our Church members, teachers, &c. The continued extension of the population of the colonies over the surface of New Holland, accompanied as it is by the immigration of thousands of Chinese and other Asiatics, especially in Queensland, makes the island continent of New Holland an important field for missionary effort. The colonists, necessarily occupied to the full extent of their means in the extraordinary demands for the extension of their home work, and for the support of the Polynesian Mission, will need some assistance in the arduous work of following the rush of population towards the Gulf of Carpentaria. As an instance of the great change which a century has wrought in the condition of the Australian continent, we need only to refer to the five large colonies, with about two millions of European population (besides Tasmania and New Zealand). In the locality called the Endeavour River, where Captain Cook, in his first voyage, A.D. 1770, a hundred and six years ago, repaired his damaged vessel, there is now a town called Cook's Town, with a European population of about two thousand persons. By this extension of our population it must be admitted that our responsibilities to do our utmost to maintain the influence of Christianity among the emigrant population are largely increased; for our English race, wherever it is found, will, as the ruling power, be either a blessing or a curse to the aborigines and others with whom it is brought in contact. The same obligation rests upon us with regard to the Missions of the Canadian Conference, carried on in the vast territory of the far West, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, over one half of the continent of North America. It is impossible to give the full impression of the importance of these Missionary efforts in Australia and North America by any general view. Those only who have patience to read the detailed report of these two great Missionary Societies, the noble off-

spring of this Parent Society, can properly appreciate the greatness and importance of the work. The Missions of the Canadian Conference, including the recent Mission to Japan, are carried on by 392 Missionaries, engaged in 383 Mission Stations, and the return of Church members is 30,071. The revenue of the Canadian Missionary Society is £30,982, and will be from this time kept distinct in our balance-sheet from that of the Parent Society.

“The Committee are more than ever convinced of the importance of the establishment of schools adapted to all classes, from the most elementary to the high schools, in all our Mission Districts. In carrying on the present schools, and in the additional schools called for, the requisite outlay, already large, will have to be much increased. On the success of these establishments in training up teachers and others, who may eventually become Ministers to their own people, the perpetuity of all our Missions, especially in tropical climates, mainly depends. Already we have small establishments for educational purposes in Italy, Germany, and under the French Conference; also at the Gambia and Sierra Leone, and at Cape Coast and in the Bahamas. The buildings for the High School at Lagos are in a state of forwardness. In Jamaica Dr. Kessen and Mr. Westlake have commenced their labours in the New High School with cheering prospects. In South Africa the High School at Heald Town is not able to meet the demand upon it for teachers, and applications have been made for the establishment of several other schools of a similar character, which the Committee will have this year to consider. In India and Ceylon there are High Schools of a very superior character, and a new one is being established at Galle. The great difficulty is in obtaining teachers of a superior class, especially for schools in tropical districts.

“The Society has this year lost by death many valuable friends and agents. Among others, the Rev. Charles Prest, a veteran supporter and friend, to whose fearless advocacy the Society owes much. Thomas Knight, for many years a liberal supporter of the Missions, and at all times ready for any good work. Walter Griffith, for a generation past

the treasurer of the London Districts. Thomas Tombleson, whose liberality to the Polynesian Mission is well known. Joseph Hardey, one of the original settlers in Western Australia, and one of the fathers of our Mission in that rising colony. W. T. Whelpton, a member of the Committee, an active and liberal friend of the Society. Dr. Thomas Brown and the Rev. Benjamin Frankland, also members of the Committee, have recently been called away to their reward. Other two of our friends, formerly engaged in our Polynesian Missions, have also departed this life—Mrs. Tucker, the wife of the Rev. Charles Tucker, for many years Missionary in Tonga, and the Rev. Matthew Wilson, whose earlier life was spent in that Mission. In South Africa the death of the Chief Kama, one of the first of the Kaffir converts under William Shaw's ministry, and of the Rev. James Cameron, a sound theologian, 'mighty in the Scriptures,' the Chairman of the Natal District, after forty-seven years of continuous unbroken labour in South Africa, reminds us that the generation engaged in our early Missions is rapidly passing away. Add to these honoured names that of the Indian Chief John Sunday, well known to our English friends, and identified with our North American Mission; and the name of George M'Dougall, who was present with us last year, but who has since perished in a snowstorm in the wilds of North America, on the 24th of January, 1876. To this list we must add further the names of James Banfield, Robert Hawkins, Henry de Silva, T. S. King, who have also died in the Mission field, and of the following wives of Missionaries, Mrs. Burgess, Mrs. Milum, Mrs. Tull, and Mrs. Dixon. It is a comfort to be able to say, 'All these died in faith.' 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Even so, saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.'

"The Committee have to rejoice in the continued liberality of their friends in England and of the Societies connected with the Canadian and Australasian Conferences in the support of their Missions, and in the efforts of the various Mission Districts, either towards the realization of self-support, or the increase of the Missionary income of

their respective auxiliaries. They are thankful to the Great Head of the Church for the general prosperity of the Mission Churches during the past year, and for the addition to the number of acknowledged Church members, which in the Missions under the immediate care of the British Conference amounts to more than 4,000, with 3,500 children beyond the number reported last year. To the Ladies' Committee, who have so actively assisted in the furtherance of female education by their grants and by the supply of suitable teachers, the Committee have been greatly indebted. The calls for lady teachers are increasing, and must naturally increase, with the general extension of the Mission work. It is highly desirable that this important branch of the work should meet with more general support from the ladies of the Methodist Societies.

“And now again the Committee meet their friends and supporters, solemn in the consciousness of responsibility and stewardship, but ready, in God's strength, for vigorous work and prayer, and assured as much as ever of the scripturalness of the obligation, and of the ultimate success of the work which God has given them to do. The world belongs to the Lord Jesus Christ. It is His by right of possession, and by right of ransom, and shall speedily be His by right of conquest too. Only let the Church consecrate her choicest—the firstlings of the flock, the first-fruits of the increase, the first-born or the best beloved of her children—and Heaven will honour the spirit of sacrifice, and respond to it in wealthier blessing and in diviner displays of power. Then shall the increase be rapid as well as sure. ‘The plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed.’ ‘He shall finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness;’ and in the ears of many a tired watcher, who has grown weary in watching the face of the weather, and of the fields, shall sound the glad summons which inspires the reapers for their toil: ‘Thrust ye in the sickle, for the harvest of the earth is ripe.’”

With wonder and gratitude may we well exclaim, “What hath God wrought!” These mighty results far surpass the expectations of the most sanguine. For, before these actual

results could be tabulated, preparatory difficulties of the most formidable kind had to be overcome. Foreign countries had to be opened; a knowledge of difficult languages had to be acquired; schools had to be formed, and an elementary literature prepared. Only those who have had to grapple with these difficulties can fully understand their magnitude. But they have been overcome; and now in many countries the word of God is read and preached in the languages of the people.

These remarks apply only to the *past*; but, for the *future*, there is every reason to calculate that the progress will be much more rapid than it has hitherto been. In addition to actual results, a vast amount of light has been imparted, and influence exerted, which cannot be tabulated, but which will doubtless cause the work to advance with accelerated speed. Great as the progress has been in the past, we are not able to form a correct opinion as to what the future will be. Light is diffused, "the way of the Lord is prepared," and nations may be born in a day.

CHAPTER XVI.

CENTENARY CONFERENCE, 1839.

THE year 1839 completed the first century of Wesleyan Methodism. A little difficulty was felt in fixing the precise time at which the event should be celebrated, some being of opinion that it should be in 1838, as being one hundred years from the time of Mr. Wesley's ordination; but, after much deliberation and consultation, it was decided to hold the Centenary celebration in 1839. There can be no doubt that this was the proper time. The year 1739 was certainly the epoch when Methodism took its rise and entered upon its glorious aggressive course. The first day of that memorable year was remarkable for the baptism of fire which the first actors in this great work received. On this day, as a Love-feast was held in Fetter Lane, Whitefield, Charles Wesley, Hall, Kinchin, Ingham, and others experienced a "Pentecostal season," as Whitefield called it, when the Holy Ghost came mightily upon them in such a manner that all were awed into silence, some falling to the floor insensible. When they had somewhat recovered from the amazement which this Divine manifestation had inspired, they broke out with one voice in the exulting language of the *Te Deum*, "We praise Thee, O God: we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord."

It was in the year 1739 that Whitefield broke through all restraint and preached out of doors at Bristol. It was in that year that John Wesley, led on by the vehement Whitefield, commenced field preaching. It was in that year that the first "Bands" met at Bristol, that the "United Societies" were formed, and that the corner-stone of the first Methodist chapel was laid in Bristol. It was in that year that these devoted men were ejected from the pulpits of the Established Church, and took the world as their "parish," entering upon their untiring career of

evangelistic effort. Thus was it a remarkable year of grace to the world, and as such should be held in remembrance.

At the Conference of 1837 a Committee was appointed to take into consideration the whole subject and report upon it to the Conference of 1838. This Committee met three times during the year, and decided upon recommending to the Conference of 1838 that the Centenary should be celebrated in 1839 by special religious services and pecuniary contributions, which should be memorial thank-offerings to God. The Conference of 1838 was held in Bristol, Thomas Jackson being the President. The report of the Committee was presented and approved, and another large and influential Committee was appointed for the purpose of making preparatory arrangements. It was also agreed that the President should preach the official sermon at the ensuing Conference, and that he should prepare during the year a volume which might supply the place of a handbook of Methodism, showing the rise and progress of the body, its present state and its future prospects.

This important Committee met in Oldham Street chapel, Manchester, on November 7th, 1838, the President, the Rev. Thomas Jackson, in the chair. It was the largest and most influential Committee that Methodism had ever known, consisting of two hundred and fifty of the leading Ministers and laymen of the Connexion. These were drawn from all parts of the kingdom; and when they met, the proceedings were of the most enthusiastic description. The account of the whole may be found in the Appendix to Mr. Jackson's "Centenary of Methodism," but cannot be quoted here for want of space.

It was resolved that the celebration should consist of two parts: namely, religious services and pecuniary offerings; that by this means religious advancement might be effected, and the funds of the Connexion extended and strengthened. These enthusiastic people resolved that not less than £80,000 should be laid on God's altar; but before the movement closed the sum amounted to over £200,000. One very important part of the proceedings

was to determine in what manner the money should be appropriated.

The first action resolved upon was the erection of two Theological Institutions for the better training of the rising Ministry. But it was only for the accommodation of those students who had given "satisfactory evidence of their sound conversion to God, their solid piety, and their Divine call to the work of the Christian Ministry." Those, and those only, were to be "received into the Wesleyan Theological Institution, whether such students were designed for home or for Missionary service."

The second great object was to obtain suitable buildings in London for carrying on the great and increasing business of the Connexion, especially in relation to the Missionary department of the work. This led to the purchase and designation of "Centenary Hall," which has since been used for Missionary and other purposes.

A third object was to obtain a Missionary ship which might be employed in the South Sea Islands, New Zealand, and Australia; a want so pressing as only to be understood thoroughly by those who had often much privation and suffering to endure in those distant fields of Missionary enterprise.

A fourth very philanthropic object was to make arrangements for affording permanent relief to the Fund for Worn-out Preachers and the Widows and Orphan children of those who had died in the work. These were often left in very destitute circumstances, and well deserved the sympathetic consideration of the body.

The Chapel Loan Fund was also to derive aid, so as to make its operations and usefulness more extensive. These and other important objects derived effectual assistance, such as could not have been obtained in the ordinary routine of Connexional operations, but which served very greatly to consolidate Methodism, and send it onward with increased momentum.

The key-note of these large pecuniary contributions was struck by a lady giving one thousand guineas as a thank-offering to God for the great benefits which she and her family had received from God through Methodism. This

ed the way to multitudes of others, at home and abroad, following in the same track. Many forgotten ones, except in the privacy of the loving hearts where they lay embalmed, were again brought to the light of day,—departed fathers, mothers, children; worthy Ministers, dear friends, and distant relatives, were all placed in grateful offerings on the altar of the Church.

The memories of past days were called up,—days of suffering and days of blessing,—the long, hard struggle, followed by remarkable deliverance,—the dark, dreary night, followed by the break of day,—the battling with many complicated difficulties, and the wondrous interpositions of Divine Providence, by which effectual relief at length came. All vicissitudes were brought in vivid form before the eye, and took a tangible shape in grateful offerings to God; until more than £200,000 told how general, how deep, how strong the feeling was.

When the first day of 1839 dawned, it was inaugurated by meetings for praise and prayer throughout the Methodist body, and tens of thousands of joyful lips celebrated the praises of God. Just one hundred years before, Whitefield, Wesley, and others were overpowered with the sense of the Divine glory, and entered upon their apostolic course: now at the end of one hundred years hundreds of thousands proclaimed the wonders God had wrought through their instrumentality. They felt that God was about to do a great work: the multitudes who were the fruits of that work now acknowledged it with joyful lips. The song of wonder and of triumph was loud and long:

“Saw ye not the cloud arise,
Little as a human hand?
Now it spreads along the skies,
Hangs o’er all the thirsty land.”

The Conference of 1839 assembled at Liverpool on the 1st of July. It met under the most favourable auspices; more than sixteen thousand members had been added to the Societies during the year, and one hundred and eighteen candidates for the Ministry presented themselves. The joy, exultant feeling of the Conference was profound.

October 25th was the day on which the Centenary cele-

bration was to culminate in religious services, held throughout England, and in foreign lands so far as practicable. It was "a day to be remembered." Whilst the hundreds of thousands of God's Methodist Israel were celebrating His worship, and offering praises and prayers, showers of blessing descended, the Societies were quickened, and many were added unto the Lord. There were praises for the past, and the girding on of new spiritual armour, by which fresh and extensive conquests were to be won in the future.

Dr. Stevens writes : " From the death of Wesley to the Centenary jubilee of the denomination, we have had to trace chiefly the practical progress of his system ; he left it so complete that no revolutionary changes have ensued ; but it has continued in rapid and powerful development ; it has broken away from its original, necessary limitation to the territorial dominions of the Anglo-Saxon race, and, conceiving its mission to be one of universal evangelization, it has planted its standard upon most of the outlines of the world. The practical demonstration of this conception is the culminating fact of its history, and, taken in connexion with the other marked stages of its progress, gives it an almost peculiar historic unity, no less providential than peculiar, and as prophetic as providential.

" Wesley died at the head of a thoroughly organized host of 550 Itinerant Preachers and 140,000 members of his Societies in the United Kingdom, in British North America, in the United States, and in the West Indies. At our present period, about half a century later, it had grown to more than 1,171,000, including about 5,200 Itinerant Preachers, in the Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal Churches ; and, including the various bodies bearing the name of Methodists, to an army of more than 1,400,000, of whom 6,080 were Itinerant Preachers. Its Missionaries, accredited members of different Conferences, were about three hundred and fifty, with nearly an equal number of salaried, and about three thousand unpaid assistants. They occupied about three hundred Stations, each Station being the head of a Circuit. They were labouring in Sweden, Germany, France, Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Malta,

Western and Southern Africa, Ceylon, Continental India, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, Tonga, Haabai Islands, Vavau Islands, Fiji Islands, and the West Indies. They had under instruction in their Mission schools about fifty thousand pupils, and in their Mission churches were more than seventy thousand communicants. At least two hundred thousand persons heard the Gospel regularly in their Mission chapels. The Methodist Missionaries were now more numerous than the whole Wesleyan Ministry as enrolled on the Minutes of Wesley's last Conference, and their Missionary communicants were about equal to the whole number of Methodists in Europe at that day. Wesley presided over Methodism during its first half-century and two years more ; during its second half-century reproduced, in its Missions alone, the whole numerical force of its first half-century.

"Such were some of the facts, astonishing to the most sober contemplation, which its history presented at the time of its Centenary jubilee ; but with even such facts to stimulate the general joy, gratitude, and hope of its people, they could hardly have dared to anticipate the results which about twenty additional years were to present to us, in confirmation of the providential mission of their cause ; its 18,000 Itinerant Preachers, its 2,800,000 communicants, its 10,000,000 hearers. The sectarian partialities of our modern Protestantism render the task of the historian apparently invidious in the citation of such facts ; but they are the legitimate, because the most significant historic data ; as here presented they are assuredly within the limits of the actual truth, and may well justify the common gratitude and congratulation of the friends of our common faith."

This year is also memorable to the writer of these pages, as being the one in which he had to leave his fatherland, and embark as a Missionary to South Africa. It was at the Centenary Conference of 1839 that his name appeared in the "Stations" as appointed to the interior of that country ; and shortly after that Conference he had to bid adieu to an aged widowed mother,—under the circumstances, a very heavy trial to her, but the sacrifice was made with-

out a murmur. She lived some years longer, ripening for heaven and blessing earth, until, in her eighty-sixth year, she exchanged mortality for life. She is gone before, but we hope to meet again in that happy world where mountains rise and oceans roll no more betwixt the united and loved ones ; where together they shall behold the glory of the Lamb and sing the high praises of God.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONFERENCE OF 1875.

THIS brief history of the origin, progress, and polity of Methodism is now brought down to the year 1876. Since the Centenary year, 1839, many events of importance have transpired, a mere record of which must suffice; whilst those readers who desire more elaborate details will be able to find them in the larger works to which reference has been made, and in the "Minutes of Conference."

At different periods of the progress of Methodism some parties have been dissatisfied; and when they could not have such changes made in the polity of Methodism as they desired, they have separated from it. The years 1850, 1851, and 1852, were remarkable for one of the most serious and widespread agitations which the Connexion has sustained. The Conference found it needful to exercise discipline upon *three* Ministers of the body, who, feeling themselves aggrieved, sought in every possible way to agitate and divide the Connexion. They so far succeeded in their efforts, by preaching, public meetings, writing, &c., as to occasion the loss of many thousands of members to the Society. They established a new Church organization, now generally known as the "Methodist Free Church," and, having found enough to do to carry out their own operations, have for years past ceased to agitate the parent body.

Since that time Wesleyan Methodism has put forth new and still more vigorous efforts to recover what she had lost, and to provide the best safeguards against any future rupture.

Educated Ministry.—Amongst the things which have received special attention, one has been the more careful and systematic education of the rising Ministry. Now three "schools of learning," or Colleges, are in active and

efficient operation,—two for candidates for the Home Ministry, and one for those who are more immediately designed for Mission work. Into these “schools of the Prophets” none are admitted who have not passed satisfactorily through the various preceding tests and preparations. They must all have been members of the Church, professing to be truly converted to God. They must all have been employed as Local Preachers on the Plans of their various Circuits for a longer or shorter space of time. They must all have professed to be called by the Holy Ghost to the work and office of the Christian Ministry. They must all have been recommended by their own respective Quarterly Meetings to be received into the full work of the Ministry; and they must all have passed careful theological examinations, before they were accepted by the Conference, and sent to these Institutions of learning, to be more fully prepared for the solemn and responsible work of the Ministry.

In these particulars there is a vital distinction betwixt the candidates for the Christian Ministry in the Methodist Connexion, and those of some other Churches. In the latter, the Ministry is taken up as a *profession*, for which the candidate must prepare in the same manner as he would be required to do for the legal or the medical profession. Not so here: the man must be a converted man, called of the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel, of which satisfactory proof must be given before he can even enter the seminaries of learning; so that in this manner, being “no novice,” he may be the better prepared to preach acceptably and efficiently the word of God.

Home Missions have also been called into extensive and active operation by the Conference, being greatly aided by the very efficient labours of the late Rev. Charles Prest, who was for many years the Secretary of this part of Methodist work; and under whose penetrating eye and vigorous hand a regular system of Home Missions was organized; so that there are now eighty-six Home Missionaries employed, including those who are engaged as Chaplains in connexion with different military and naval stations. The value and importance of this part of Meth-

odist agency can scarcely be over-estimated, as it not only penetrates among the poor and neglected part of the population of the large towns and rural districts, but is a school of great value to young Ministers, in educating them in a systematic course of *pastoral* work. This is a point of great importance, since there is a danger of young Ministers being absorbed in endeavours to become good sermonizers, and neglecting pastoral duty, whereby their success will be greatly lessened.

General Education has also shared largely in the attention and efforts of Methodism. Westminster College, and Southlands for female students, are providing large numbers of trained, well-qualified teachers, who are going forth from year to year to establish new schools, and to fill up vacancies which may arise. The object of these colleges is not so much to convey knowledge as to show those who are designed for teachers how they may best and most successfully impart knowledge to others. Thus teaching is made a science, and the right management of schools is made a study and an art; so that in these respects the character of schools and teaching is changed from what it was in days of yore. The work thus so well inaugurated is likely to receive large development, as the English nation has now taken up the subject of educating the masses in earnest; and the best way of doing this is one of the great problems of the day to be worked out by any Ministry which may guide the affairs of the British Empire.

Sabbath Schools also are not only increasing in the number of teachers and scholars, but are acquiring that religious character by which they may be to a great extent the nurseries of the Church. The necessity of the young being taught *religiously* appears to have taken more effectual hold on the Christian Church than in years gone by; and hence more careful and systematic efforts are being put forth to make the schools in every respect what they ought to be. Catechumen classes are formed in many schools, and are being conducted very successfully, so that large numbers of Sabbath-school teachers and Church members are being gathered out of the schools. The Rev. John Clulow was set apart for some years as Inspector

and helper in school operations, and greatly assisted in rendering them more effective, and guiding the labours of those engaged in schools to the best results.

In addition to the above, the Leys School and the Colleges of Sheffield and Taunton are provided for the rising youth of Methodism; whilst Kingswood and Woodhouse Grove still hold on their way for the education of Preachers' sons; and from these various sources candidates for honours in the London and Cambridge Universities frequently meet with high success in competitive examinations.

Chapels.—In this department rapid and substantial progress has been made during the last few years. Many new chapels have been erected with considerable architectural taste and at large cost; mostly without debt, or having only a small debt upon them. Many chapel trusts have also been effectually relieved; so that a large amount of money, which was before lost in the form of interest, is now liberated to assist in providing additional Ministers, and in other ways to assist in the more effectual carrying onward of the work of God.

Amongst these numerous proofs of extensive and substantial progress there is, however, one fact which is of an humbling nature; that is, that the number of actual Church members has only increased to a very limited extent. In some years there has been actual decrease, and in other years only small increase, in Great Britain and Ireland.* In America

* The following "General View," however, containing the tabulated number of members and Ministers at the Conference of 1876, shows a large increase of membership, especially in Great Britain.

GENERAL VIEW.

| | Members | On Trial. | Ministers. | On Trial. | Supernumeraries. |
|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------------|
| I. British Conference: | | | | | |
| Great Britain | 372,938 | 33,238 | 1,384 | 243 | 286 |
| Ireland, and Irish Missions.. | 20,405 | 822 | 134 | 27 | 26 |
| Foreign Missions | 78,023 | 10,043 | 273* | 141* | 14* |
| II. French Conference | 1,883 | 145 | 25† | 5† | 6† |
| III. Australasian Conferences | 52,692 | 8,186 | 311 | 53 | 27 |
| Totals | 525,941 | 52,424 | 2,127 | 449 | 309 |

* Exclusive of Missionaries in Ireland.

† The French Ministers who are employed in the Channel Islands District are *not* included in these returns.

N.B.—In this Table the number of Ministers and Members in connexion with the Conferences of Canada and Eastern British America,—now combined in the Conference of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in the Dominion of Canada,—is not given.

the numerical increase has been very large ; and in the affiliated Conferences considerable advance has been chronicled, as also on nearly all the foreign Mission Stations.

Various reasons have been assigned for the small increase in England ; and doubtless these reasons have their weight : but the real cause, it is to be feared, is the low state of spiritual power among many of the Methodists, and a very great increase of worldly conformity. Many Methodists have become rich, and the only safety-valve is that of having large demands made upon their liberality in support of the various financial regulations of the Church. Some of them are princely contributors to the various funds : but whilst they are thus benefitting those funds by their liberal offerings, they are still more largely benefitting themselves and their families by laying up imperishable treasure in heaven.

The great want of Methodism at the present time is “the baptism of fire,” in her Ministers, members, and congregations. We should then hear no more about the Class-meeting being objected to as a “test of membership ;” but the Church would be “fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.” May the Lord send down this “baptism of fire.” Amen !

CHAPTER XVIII.

METHODISM IN AMERICA.

WERE it not requisite for the completeness of this history, this chapter would not be given, as the subject is so fully treated in the able works of Dr. Stevens and Dr. Crook as to preclude all necessity for further notice. But as it is supposed that this book will find its way into the hands of many who will not have the opportunity of consulting those authors, it becomes needful to give at least an epitome of the great work effected on the American Continent.

In the chapter on Methodism in Ireland, a description was given of the manner in which Philip Embury, Barbara Heck, and other Irish Methodists, emigrated to America. Dr. Crook says, "We have seen that Philip Embury and his party, including Paul and Barbara Heck, arrived in New York in August, 1760. The presumption is, that Embury attempted some religious service shortly after landing; but, being constitutionally timid and retiring, and meeting with little or no encouragement, and having no suitable place in which to conduct the services, he abandoned the idea of attempting any public services, at least for the present. It is probable that in a new and strange land he found it increasingly difficult to support his wife and young family, and that this was not without its influence in his ultimate decision. It is also fair to assume that the Irish emigrants were located in various parts of the city, so that the difficulty of getting even a few of them together may have been very considerable. He joined the Lutherans, and we have the testimony of his son, Mr. Samuel Embury, that he never abandoned the practice of family worship. During the period in which Embury's 'talent lay hid in a napkin,' several of his children were born, who were baptized amongst the Lutherans. Two of these died in infancy—Catherine Elizabeth, his

first-born, aged two years; and John Albert, aged three."

This small band scarcely took definite Methodistical form, until another batch of emigrants from Ireland arrived. "In August, 1765, a second party of Palatine emigrants arrived in New York, from Ballingran and the neighbourhood. Amongst them were Paul Ruckle, Luke Rose, Jacob Hick, Peter Barkman, Henry Williams, and their families. Mr. Ruckle was related to Embury, and brother to Barbara Heck, who, as we have seen, with her husband, Paul Heck, had accompanied Embury in 1760. Jacob Hick and his wife had been Methodists in Ireland, and were amongst the earliest friends of the infant Methodist Church in New York. I take Jacob Hick to have been the founder of the Hick family, mentioned in the 'Old Book,' and the ancestor of John Paul Hick, so frequently mentioned in Wakely's 'Lost Chapters.' His wife, doubtless, was an excellent woman, and amongst the earliest friends of Methodism in New York; but she is not to be confounded with Barbara Heck, 'the heroine of American Methodism,' as in my judgment the Rev. J. B. Wakely has done in his beautiful book. Jacob Hick, his wife, and family, lived and died in New York; whereas, Paul Heck, and Barbara his wife, went with Embury from New York to Salem, in 1770, and ultimately were connected with the first Class in Canada, where they died; having had the honour of being identified with the origin of Methodism both in the United States and in Canada, as I shall show by and by.

"Many of the Palatines who accompanied Embury and Barbara Heck from Ireland, had by this time lost even the form of godliness, and had become adepts at card playing and other sinful amusements. Several of those who accompanied Paul Ruckle had but little respect for religion, and in the evenings, when both parties met after the day's labour, card playing formed the staple amusement. There is not the slightest shadow of evidence that Embury ever played with them, or even witnessed them playing. One evening in the autumn of 1766, a large company were assembled playing cards as usual, when

Barbara Heck came in, and burning with indignation, she hastily seized the cards, and throwing them into the fire, administered a scathing rebuke to all the parties concerned. She then went to Embury's house, and told him what she saw, and what she had done, adding, with great earnestness, '*Philip, you must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell, and God will require our blood at your hands!*' Philip attempted a defence by saying, 'How can I preach, as I have neither house nor congregation?' 'Preach,' said this noble woman, 'in your own house, and to your own company.' Before she left, she prevailed on Philip to resolve to make the attempt, and within a few days Embury preached the first Methodist sermon in New York, in his own hired house, to a congregation of five persons. Such was the origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States—now the largest and most influential Church in the great American Continent. 'Who hath despised the day of small things?'

We leave Dr. Smith and Dr. Crook to settle the question, as to whether Philip Embury was found playing cards, when Barbara Heck accosted him, or not. The probabilities are, that Dr. Crook is correct, and that Philip Embury had joined the Lutheran Church, and was living a quiet Christian life; and that it was this warm-hearted, devoted woman who shook him from his reverie, and roused him to action. Be the particulars what they may, the thing was done, and Philip Embury set to work in right good earnest, in the right way; and Barbara Heck seconded him with her Irish fire and Christian zeal; and, as we have seen, a congregation of five persons was gathered in Embury's house, and he preached his first sermon to them. "In a short time the congregation so increased under the faithful ministry of Embury, that it was found necessary to obtain a larger room; and, accordingly, the infant Church hired a large 'upper room' in Barrack Street, about ten doors from the barracks, now called Augustine Street. 'Here,' says Peter Parks, of New York, 'a great excitement took place among the people; many were awakened and some converted. Among those that were converted was my grandmother, Catherine Taylor, and

my mother, Mary Parks. At this time Mr. Embury formed a class of all the members then in Society, which was twelve. There were three musicians belonging to the sixteenth regiment of British troops, then stationed in the barracks in Barrack Street. Their names were James Hodge, Addison Low, and John Buckley: they were exhorters, and assisted Mr. Embury in the meetings. There were some souls got awakened and converted in the poor-house. Mrs. Deverick was one, and, through her instrumentality, Mr. Embury was called to preach in the poor-house. By this means the master of the poor-house, Billy Littlewood, was awakened and converted.'

"Thus 'mightily grew the Word of the Lord and prevailed;' so that, early in 1767, we find the little Church had outgrown the 'Upper Room,' the second Methodist preaching place in New York, and had hired the far-famed 'Rigging Loft,' in Horse-and-Cart Street, now called William Street, and not far from John Street, so noted in American Methodism. This loft was long and narrow, sixty feet by eighteen. Here they erected a desk and benches, and here Embury preached on Sabbath mornings, at six o'clock, and on Sabbath evenings, and, after a time, on Thursday evenings also. About this time Charles White and Richard Sanse, who were both Methodists in Dublin, arrived from Ireland, and proved an important accession to the rising Church. Both were pretty well off in the world, and nobly identified themselves with the interests of the little Church worshipping in the 'Rigging Loft.' They were liberal contributors to John Street Chapel,—'the cradle of American Methodism,'—and earned for themselves an enduring renown by being amongst the first trustees of Methodist property in America, as we shall see by and bye."

Captain Webb, a converted soldier, arrived about this time, and rendered valuable aid to the infant Church. He was converted to God under Wesley's preaching in Bristol, and had been employed by him as a Local Preacher. He was now quartered at Albany, and hearing that there was a small Methodist Society at New York, he found them out. Instead of being ashamed of this primitive, feeble

band, and keeping aloof from them, as some gentlemen are disposed to do when they arrive in distant lands where Methodism is not very popular, he joined himself unto them, and preached for them, gathering large crowds together to hear the Captain in his regimentals. Great good was effected, and the place in which they worshipped was soon too small for them. Methodist-like they "must have a chapel," and forthwith a "subscription list" made its appearance.

As Dr. Crook's descriptions are so graphic, I shall again quote from his "Ireland," &c., pp. 113-116.

" 'PREAMBLE OF THE SUBSCRIPTION LIST, WITH THE NAMES OF THE SUBSCRIBERS, AND RESPECTIVE SUMS GIVEN ANNEXT.

" 'A number of persons, desirous to worship God in spirit and truth, commonly called Methodists (under the direction of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley), whom it is evident God has been pleased to bless in their meetings in New York, thinking it would be more to the glory of God and the good of souls had they a more convenient place to meet in, where the Gospel of Jesus Christ might be preached without distinction of sects or parties; and, as Mr. Philip Embury is a member and helper in the Gospel, they humbly beg the assistance of Christian friends, in order to enable them to build a small house for the purpose, not doubting but the God of all consolation will abundantly bless all such as are willing to contribute to the same.'

"Then follow the names, nearly 250 in all, from Captain Webb, who gave £30, down to coloured servants who gave 1s. 6d. or 2s., making £418. 3s. 6d. Amongst the subscribers we find:—Richard Sanse, £13. 5s.; Charles White, £5; Paul Heck (husband of Mrs. Heck), £3. 5s.; David Embury (Philip's brother), £2; and several others from Ireland. Embury's name does not appear in the list. He was poor, and had no money to give; but he contributed something to the enterprise which silver and gold were too poor to buy.

"The idea of building a church originated with Mrs. Heck, who said that she had made it a matter of special

prayer. Strange to tell, this noble woman also was the architect of the church, having supplied the plan, which was throughout approved and adopted by general consent.

“The length was sixty feet by forty-two in width. It was built of common stone, covered with blue plaster. It had a gallery, but for many years had no stairs, but the people ascended by a ladder. The seats had no backs at first, as the funds were low. The timber work was done by Embury and David Morris. Embury’s own hand constructed the pulpit.

“The ‘Old Book’ proves that Embury was also the first Treasurer of the Chapel Fund, and that he had the entire burden and responsibility, until relieved by the appointment of Mr. Lupton. Some idea of his services in this department may be gathered from the following receipt from the mason who built the chapel :

‘RECEIVED, New York, 7th October, 1769, of Mr. William Lupton, forty-three pounds, which, with the different sums I have before received from Mr. Philip Embury, amounts to the sum of five hundred and eleven pounds, which is in full of all demands from the Methodist Preaching House.

£511.

SAMUEL EDMONDS.’

“The opening sermon was preached by Embury, October 30th, 1768—just two years after his first sermon in his own house—from Hosea x. 12: ‘Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, till He come and rain righteousness upon you.’ With characteristic simplicity he said, that the best consecration of a pulpit was to preach a good sermon in it.

“Such was the first Methodist Church in New York, ‘the cradle of American Methodism,’ and such its opening service—simple, appropriate, beautiful; the honest carpenter from Ballingran—the founder of American Methodism—preaching the opening sermon in the first Methodist church in the goodly land of his adoption, and amongst a people who loved and prized him. What hath God wrought! What a marvellous change now, within one hundred years!

“From this date the ‘Rigging Loft’ was abandoned as a Methodist preaching place, and John Street Church became the head quarters of Methodism in the city. Embury’s church was demolished in 1817, to make way for a new and enlarged edifice, adapted to the rising fortunes of the Church; and in turn this new building gave place, in 1841, to the present noble church known as John Street Church, the third built on this site. The ‘Rigging Loft’ outlived Embury’s church many years. It was taken down in 1854, during some improvements in the street in which it stood. Many old Methodists bid it a fond adieu, as a place hallowed by precious memories. The timbers were still sound, and were converted into walking-sticks. An ivory head was placed upon each with the inscription, ‘Rigging Loft. 1766. Philip Embury.’ Both timber and ivory will crumble to dust beneath the iron tooth of time, but the name of PHILIP EMBURY will last as long as time itself.”

At the Conference of 1769, Messrs. Boardman and Pilmoor volunteered to go to America, in reply to Mr. Wesley’s call for volunteers. Wesley Chapel was already built in New York, and a regularly organized Ministry was wanted; an urgent request was sent to Mr. Wesley, and the result was, that these two self-denying men volunteered and went.

“In October, 1769, Messrs. Boardman and Pilmoor arrived in New York, from England, and took charge of Wesley Chapel, John Street. Embury was truly glad to be thus honourably released from his laborious services in connexion with Methodism in New York, and be at liberty to devote some attention to the interests of his family. Accordingly he removed from New York, with his wife and three children, in April, 1770, and joined the colony at Salem. We find an entry in the ‘Old Book’ under date, April 10th, 1770, of £2. 5s. for ‘a Concordance for Philip Embury;’ this was probably a parting gift from the little Church to Philip, as they bid the founder of American Methodism farewell. It is the last entry in connexion with his name.”

In 1770, America appears on the “Minutes of Confer-

ence" as *the fiftieth Circuit*. As Dr. Smith writes, "The twenty-seventh annual Conference was held in London, August 7th, 1770. The number of Circuits had now increased from forty-six to fifty. The last on the list affords a striking proof of the readiness with which the founder of Methodism entered every open door, and of the quiet confidence with which he carried into practical operation his favourite maxim, 'The world is my parish.' The last Circuit on the list for this year is 'No. 50. *America*.' The continent of America a Methodist Circuit!"

The first American Conference was held in 1773. "On the 4th of July, 1773, the first Wesleyan Conference was held in America. At this time there were six Circuits in that country: New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Petersburg, with 10 Preachers and 1,160 members. The great principles which governed the Societies at home were enforced here, especially that the Preachers were prohibited from administering the sacraments, and required to urge their people to attend the church, and receive the ordinances there. The Wesleyan plan of stationing the Preachers having been thus fully adopted, and Wesleyan discipline diligently enforced by Mr. Rankin, the work of God advanced with remarkable rapidity and power."

The war of the Revolution was attended with serious difficulties to the infant Wesleyan Church. "Although the war with America was continued with all the energy the British Ministry could command, the revolted colonists were daily getting the advantage in the conflict; the Congress was accordingly encouraged to assume, in the fullest sense, the sovereignty of the country. The inhabitants of the several States were in consequence required to take an oath of allegiance to the existing Government. Mr. Asbury, as an Englishman, could not conscientiously comply with this demand. He had, therefore, to retire from his usual course of ministerial duty, and seek refuge in concealment. He lived thus in the house of a friend, Judge White, for nearly twelve months. Yet even in these circumstances his zealous soul could not be inactive; for, when unable to appear at all in the day-time, he would emerge from his

retreat in the gloom of night, and go from house to house, enforcing the great truths of the Gospel."

The circumstances of America at the close of the Revolutionary war were peculiar in a religious point of view, and more especially so far as Methodism was concerned. "Methodism," as Dr. Stevens observes, "had spread rapidly in America, notwithstanding the war of the Revolution. It now comprised eighty-three travelling Preachers, besides some hundreds of Local Preachers, and about fifteen thousand members, and many thousands of hearers, and its ecclesiastical plans were extending a network of powerful agencies over the country. The Revolution had not only dissolved the civil, but also the ecclesiastical relations of the Colonies to England. Many of the English Clergy, on whom the Methodist Societies had depended for the sacraments, had fled from the land, or had entered political or military life, and the Episcopal Church had been generally disabled. In Virginia, the centre of its colonial strength, it had rapidly declined, morally as well as numerically. At the Declaration of Independence it included not more than one-third of the population of that province. At the beginning of the war the sixty-one counties of Virginia contained ninety-five parishes, one hundred and sixty-four churches, and ninety-one Clergymen. At the conclusion of the contest many of her churches were in ruins, nearly a fourth of her parishes 'extinct or forsaken,' and thirty-four of the remaining seventy-two were without pastoral supplies; twenty-eight only of her ninety-one Clergymen remained, and these, with an addition, soon after the war, of eight from other parts of the country, ministered in but thirty-six parishes. In the year in which Wesley ordained an American Methodist Bishop, 'memorials' to the Virginia Legislature for the incorporation of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia,' and for other advantages to religion, were met by counter petitions that 'no step might be taken in aid of religion, but that it might be left to its own superior and successful influence.' The memorials were postponed till the next session, and then rejected; but a bill for the 'incorporation of all religious societies which may apply for

the same,' was adopted. In other parts of the country the English Church never had been numerically strong, and its existence was now precarious, except in two or three large cities.

“ Under these circumstances the Methodists demanded of their Preachers the administration of the sacraments. Many of the Societies had been months, some of them years, without them. The demand was not only urgent, it was logically right; but by the majority of the Preachers it was not deemed expedient. The prudent delay which Wesley, notwithstanding his liberal ecclesiastical principles, had practised in England, afforded a lesson which their good sense could not disregard. They exhorted their people, therefore, to wait patiently till he could be consulted. Thomas Rankin, one of Wesley's Missionaries, presiding at the Conference of Deer Creek, Maryland, 1777, induced them to delay one year. At the next session the subject was again prudently postponed, as no English Preacher was present; Rankin having returned to England, and Asbury being absent and sick. In 1779 the question occasioned a virtual schism, the Preachers of the South being resolute for the administration of the sacraments, those of the North still pleading for patient delay. The latter met in Conference at Judge White's residence, the retreat of Asbury, in Delaware; the former at Brockenback Church, Fluvanna county, Virginia, where they made their own appointments, and proceeded to ordain themselves by the hands of three of their senior members, unwilling that their people should longer be denied their right to the Lord's Supper, and their children and probationary members the rite of baptism. At the session of 1780 Asbury was authorized to visit the southern Preachers, and, if possible, conciliate them. He met them in Conference; they appeared determined not to recede, but at last consented to suspend the administration of the sacraments till further advice could be received from Wesley. The breach was thus happily repaired, but must evidently soon again be opened if redress should not be obtained.”

It is thus apparent that, as a matter of necessity, Wesley

had to make some suitable provision to meet the pressing want, as a preparatory process had been going on in his mind for some time. We find it thus recorded by Dr. Stevens: "What could Wesley do under these circumstances? What but exercise the right of ordination which he had for years theoretically claimed, but practically and prudently declined? He had importuned the authorities of the English Church in behalf of the Americans. In this very year he had written two letters to Lowth, Bishop of London, imploring ordination for a single Preacher, who might appease the urgency of the American brethren, by travelling among them as a Presbyter, and by giving them the sacraments; but the request was denied, Lowth replying that 'there are three Ministers in that country already.' 'What are these,' rejoined Wesley, 'to watch over all that extensive country? I mourn for poor America, for the sheep scattered up and down therein—part of them have no shepherds at all, and the case of the rest is little better, for their shepherds pity them not.' If there was any imprudence on the part of Wesley in this emergency, it was certainly in his long continued patience, for he delayed yet nearly four years. When he yielded, it was only after the triumph of the American arms, and the acknowledged independence of the Colonies; and not then till urged to it by his most revered counsellors. Fletcher, of Madeley, was one of these. That good man's interest for American Methodism should endear his memory to the American Church. He had thoughts at one time of going to the New World and of giving himself to its struggling Societies, but his feeble health forbade him."

"He referred to the example of the Alexandrian Church, which, at the death of its Bishops, provided their successors through ordination by its Presbyters,—a historical fact exemplified during two hundred years. Recognised as their founder by the American Methodists, required by them to provide for their new necessities, and unable to induce the English Prelates to do so, he proposed to ordain Coke that he might go to the American Societies as their Superintendent or Bishop, ordain their Preachers, and thus afford them the sacraments with the least possible irregu-

larity. Coke hesitated, but in two months wrote to Wesley accepting the office. Accordingly, accompanied by the Rev. James Creighton, a Presbyterian of the Church of England, Coke met him at Bristol, and on the second of September, 1784, was ordained *Superintendent or Bishop of the Methodist Societies in America*; an act of as high propriety and dignity as it was of urgent necessity. Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey were at the same time ordained Presbyters; and on the third of November, attended by his two Presbyters, (the number necessary to assist a Bishop in ordination, according to the usages of the English Church,) Coke arrived in the Republic, and proceeded to ordain Francis Asbury, first as a Deacon, then as a Presbyterian, and finally as a Bishop, and to settle the organization of American Methodism, one of the most important ecclesiastical events (whether for good or evil) of the eighteenth century, or indeed since the Reformation, as its historical consequences attest.

“The Colonial English Church being dissolved by the Revolution, its dwindled fragments were yet floating, as had been the Methodist Societies, on the stormy tide of events. Methodism preceded it in re-organization. The Methodist Bishops were the first Protestant Bishops, and Methodism was the first Protestant Episcopal Church of the New World; and as Wesley had given it the Anglican Articles of Religion, (omitting the seventeenth, on Predestination,) and the Liturgy, wisely abridged, it became, both by its precedent organization and its subsequent numerical importance, the real successor to the Anglican Church in America.”

Thus, at the Conference of 1784, Wesley ordained Dr. Coke as Bishop, and two Presbyters, that they might go to America and ordain others, which they did; Asbury being the first Bishop, and from him a regular succession of Bishops and Presbyters being kept up, in this manner. So Methodism in America has taken an episcopal form; the difference between Bishops and Presbyters being not one of order, but of office.

Having thus noticed the commencement of the work in America,—the formation of the first Class,—the erection

of the first Chapel,—the organization of the first Church,—and the ordination of the first Bishop,—we must pass over all the intervening spaces of extension and development, until we arrive at the Centenary year, 1866; with reference to which we shall quote from Dr. Crook:

“I think the most remarkable chapter in Church history, in ancient or modern times, is supplied by the History and Progress of American Methodism in the past century. It forms no part of my design at present to attempt a solution of the philosophy of its success. The following statistics will give the reader the best idea of the fact of its success. If there be any parallel case in the history of the Church, I confess I have not heard of it. I give these statistics on the authority of the Rev. Dr. Stephens, of New York, and I believe that they are below, rather than above, the true figures.

“Embury’s little congregation of five persons, in his own house, has multiplied to thousands of Societies, from the northernmost settlements of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico—from Nova Scotia to California. The first small Conference of 1773, with its ten Preachers and its 1,160 reported members, has multiplied to 60 Conferences, 6,821 Itinerants, 8,205 Local Preachers, and 928,320 members in the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH alone, exclusive of the Southern, the Canadian, and minor branches, all the offspring of the Church founded in 1766, and episcopally organized in 1784.

“It has property, in *Churches and Parsonages*, amounting to about twenty-seven millions of dollars.

“It has 25 Colleges and Theological Schools, with property amounting to 3,055,000 dollars; 158 Instructors, 5,345 Students; and 77 Academies, with 556 Instructors, and 17,761 Students; making a body of 714 Instructors, and an army of 23,106 Students.

“Its *Church Property* (Churches, Parsonages, and Colleges, aside from its 77 Academies and Book Concern) amounts to thirty millions and fifty-five thousand dollars!

“Its *Book Concern* has a capital of 837,000 dollars; 500 Publishing Agents, Editors, Clerks, and Operatives, with some thirty cylinder power presses in constant operation;

about 2,000 different books on its catalogue, besides tracts, &c.; 14 periodicals, with an aggregate circulation of more than a million copies per month. Besides the above, it has five independent or non-official weekly papers, with immense circulation.

“Its *Sunday School Union* comprises 13,400 Schools; more than 150,000 Instructors; nearly 918,000 pupils; and more than two millions and a half of library books. It issues nearly 2,500 publications, besides a monthly circulation of nearly 300,000 numbers of its periodicals.

“Its *Missionary Society* has 1,059 Circuits and Stations; 1,128 Paid Labourers; and 105,675 communicants.

“The METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, has published no statistics since the rebellion broke out; it has doubtless suffered much by the war; but it reported the last year before the rebellion nearly 700,000 Church members; nearly 2,600 Itinerants, and 5,000 Local Preachers. It had twelve periodical publications: 12 Colleges, and 77 Academies, with 8,000 Students. Its Missionary Society sustained, at home and abroad, about 360 Missionaries, and 8 Manual Labour Schools, with nearly 500 pupils.

“According to these figures the two great Episcopal divisions of the denomination have had, at their latest reports, 1,628,320 members; 9,421 Travelling and 13,205 Local Preachers; with 191 Colleges and Academies, and 31,106 Students.

“THE CANADA WESLEYAN CHURCH was not only founded by, but for many years belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church; it now reports more than 36,000 members; 500 Itinerant Preachers; and 750 Sunday Schools, with about 45,000 pupils; a University; a Female College; and a Book Concern, with its weekly periodical.

“Another branch of Canadian Methodism, the ‘METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CANADA,’ equally the child of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, reports 3 annual Conferences; 2 Bishops; 216 Travelling, and 224 Local Preachers; and 20,000 members; a Seminary and Female College, and a weekly newspaper.

“The CANADIAN WESLEYAN METHODIST NEW CONNEXION CHURCH reports 90 Travelling and 147 Local Preachers;

and 8,450 communicants. It sustains a weekly paper and Theological School.

“The other Methodist bodies in the United States are, the ‘Methodist Protestant Church,’ the ‘American Wesleyan Methodist,’ the ‘African Methodist Episcopal Church,’ and some three or four smaller sects; their aggregate membership amounts to about 260,000, their Preachers to 3,423.

“Adding the Travelling Preachers to the membership, there are now in the United States about 1,901,164 Methodist communicants. Added three non-communicant members of its congregation for each communicant, it has under its influence 7,604,636 souls—between one fifth and one fourth of the whole national population.

“Aggregately there are now in the United States and Canada as the result of the Methodism of 1766, 1,972,770 Church members, 13,650 Travelling Preachers, 15,000 Local Preachers, nearly 200 Colleges and Academies, and more than 30 periodical publications; 1,986,420 communicants, including Preachers, and nearly EIGHT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

“The influence of this vast ecclesiastical force on the moral, intellectual, and social progress of the New World can neither be doubted nor measured. It is generally conceded that it has been the most energetic religious element in the social development of the continent. With its devoted and enterprising people dispersed through the whole population; its thousands of laborious Itinerant Preachers, and tens of thousands of Local Preachers and Exhorters; its unequalled publishing agencies; and powerful periodicals, from the Quarterly Review to the Child’s Paper; its hundreds of Colleges and Academies; its hundreds of thousands of Sunday-school Instructors; its devotion to the lower and most needy classes; its animated mode of worship and religious labour, it cannot be questioned that it has been a mighty, if not the mightiest, agent in the maintenance and spread of Protestant Christianity over these lands. It stands now on the threshold of its second century, mightier than ever, in all the elements and resources requisite for a still greater history.

“ These figures are not only interesting, as illustrative of the power of Methodism under favourable circumstances, but they supply an argument to which there is no answer, as to the superiority of the voluntary principle as compared with the National Endowment system, in the maintenance and diffusion of religion. Here is a Church—without any endowment but the blessing of God on the consecrated brain and heart of its sons and daughters—and within a single century it has risen from five obscure persons, to influence and mould the character of about one fourth of the American population ! Dr. Dixon tells us, ‘ There are no sects in America, no Dissenters, no Seceders, or whatever other term may be employed to designate the position and standing of a Christian Society. They are alike considered as Christians ; and adopting, according to the judgment of charity, with equal honesty the common charter of salvation, the word of God, they are treated as equal, and as possessing similar and indefeasible rights.’ ”

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PART II.

MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPE DISTRICT.

CAPE TOWN is the metropolis of the Western part of the South African Peninsula; and GRAHAM'S TOWN, the capital of the Eastern Province. Cape Town is three hundred years old; having been in the hands of the Dutch until 1806, when it was taken by the English, in whose possession it has remained ever since. Graham's Town is only a little more than fifty years old. Methodistically the Cape District is first in order of time, but not first in the scale of importance. The Graham's Town District will be treated upon in a subsequent chapter, so that it does not need further notice in this place. There is a much larger portion of the Dutch element in the Cape District than on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony, where the English and English affinities largely prevail. The population is also much denser in the latter than in the former part of the country.

Barnabas Shaw was the father and apostle of Methodism in the Cape District; William Shaw, the father and apostle of Methodism in the Eastern Districts. Although these two worthies bear the same surname, they were not at all related to each other; and probably never saw each other until after they had been long engaged in different parts of the South African Mission field. At the Cape, as in many other places, converted soldiers were the first to call the attention of the Wesleyan Conference to South Africa.

Amongst those whose names bear a prominent place in the record of this movement, we find Sergeant Hendricks of the Twenty-First Yorkshire Light Dragoons. He was converted in Leeds; and after his Regiment removed to the

Cape, he, and others like-minded, conducted religious services among themselves; at the same time sending a pressing request to England that a Missionary might be appointed to the Cape forthwith. The warm-hearted Sergeant did not live to see his wishes gratified; but shortly after his removal to a better world Barnabas Shaw arrived. This zealous young Missionary had been appointed to the island of Ceylon; but this appointment was afterwards changed to the Cape, where he arrived on April 13th, 1816.

Difficulties of a very formidable nature beset the path of Mr. Shaw upon his arrival. The enlarged views of religious liberty now known and adopted had no existence then. Lord Charles Henry Somerset was Governor of the Colony at the time: Mr. Shaw quickly waited upon him, and presented a letter of introduction from the Earl of Bathurst, with a request to obtain his sanction for commencing religious services. The Governor, however, did not feel at liberty to sanction the application. "He replied, that considering the high and responsible office which he sustained, together with the adequate supply of Clergymen, both for the Dutch and English population, and that several of the slaveholders were opposed to the instruction of the coloured classes, he could not grant me the sanction required. Upon the exercise of religious liberty various restrictions had been imposed by the Dutch Government in the year 1804; to which His Excellency undoubtedly referred. Some of the articles are as follows: 'None shall be permitted to perform any Divine service, nor keep public meetings, except with the perfect knowledge of the Governor for the time being.' 'No public meetings of devotion may be held at any other time than the usual Sundays or holidays, and in public churches, without due permission of the Governor for the time being; and then always under the guidance and at the responsibility of the qualified consistory of that community to which those persons belong, who wish to hold these separate meetings, &c.'" (Shaw's "Memorials," pp. 59, 60.)

This courageous young Minister was not, however, to be deterred; and therefore, without the authorized permission, he exercised his ministerial functions among the soldiers

and others, so far as circumstances would permit. But, after a short time, finding that the impediments in the way of extensive usefulness in the town were of a serious nature, and that favourable openings for good were presented in the interior, he resolved to go "far hence unto the Gentiles." Now the open doors and extended fields of usefulness are so numerous that the Church cannot go in and occupy them; but *then* it was otherwise, and often the Church had to knock and wait. So it was in this instance.

Having taken his decision and made his arrangements, Mr. Shaw says: "At length, having obtained a passport, we purchased a wagon and twelve bullocks, with every thing requisite for the journey; and, in company with Mr. Schmelen, left Cape Town on the 6th of September, to take our route in the wilderness. Messrs. Young, Evans, and West accompanied us to some distance, and then bade farewell. We travelled till almost midnight, and for a considerable part of the time through deep sands. On halting we were about to prepare our wagon for our night's rest, but found the *slaapkamer*, 'bedroom,' in such confusion, it being filled with bags and boxes of provisions, guns, saws, spades, articles of clothing, implements of agriculture, tea-kettles, pots, and pans, &c., &c.,—that we were constrained to desist from our purpose, and being extremely fatigued, we were soon asleep in a less agreeable place."

Their design was to accompany the Rev. Mr. Schmelen beyond the Great Orange River into Great Namaqualand; but, as they were proceeding on their way, they were met by the Chief of the Little Namaquas, who was on his way to Cape Town in order to seek a Missionary, to come and dwell among them. Here, then, the perplexed Missionary and the seeking Chief met. Whilst Cornelius was fasting and praying, Peter was being prepared for the message and summons to go to the Gentiles. With less distinct intimation of Divine interposition in modern Missions, we frequently see concurrent circumstances combine to bring about the same results. Mr. Shaw took this as an intimation from God that his destination was to the Little Namaquas, and acted accordingly. After the numerous

trials and dangers connected with such a journey, through a desert land, the Mission party arrived at the scene of their future labours. Mr. Shaw thus records their feelings: "October 16th.—Mr. Schmelen departed on his way towards Great Namacqualand. The kindness of this German brother, and his excellent wife, is indelibly written on our hearts, and their departure exceedingly affected us. Though surrounded by Namacquas, we were truly solitary, as many of them spoke a language which we could not understand. All our earthly friends were far hence, our fellow-travellers had left us, and we could not refrain from weeping in this wilderness of savages. At length we were enabled to dry up our tears, and take courage, trusting in the veracity of Him, who hath promised, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"

Mr. and Mrs. Shaw entered upon their labours with devoted zeal and untiring energy, attending to both the spiritual and temporal interests of the people; and they soon had cause to rejoice in seeing "the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field as the garden of the Lord." Limited space forbids our going into detail as to the great moral and social changes which were effected in a few years, and by which this barren Station was transformed into a blooming oasis in the desert.

In 1826 Mr. Shaw was directed to leave Little Namacqualand, and take charge of the Cape Town Circuit, where a great change had taken place in reference to religious liberty; "a great door and effectual" being opened, which has not since been closed. In his very interesting "Memorials" we find the following record: "May, 1826.—I received notice from the late Rev. R. Watson, to proceed without delay to take charge of the Cape Town Station. The Lord's Supper was administered on the 7th to a deeply affected congregation, and four adults were baptized. One of them was a female of the Bushman tribe, who said, before her baptism, 'The Lord has heard my prayer, and *ik kan niet mier uithouden*, I can hold out no more.' How similar to the language of our own sweet singer!

'Nay, but I yield, I yield,
I can hold out no more.'

The number of adults baptized was ninety-seven."

Mr. Shaw left on the 8th, and the demonstrations of sorrow from that simple people, gathered out of the great moral wilderness, were of the most touching and overwhelming kind. This has ever since been an important and flourishing Station, from which many have gone to heaven, and some have removed to other parts. There are at this time two hundred and nine Church members, and thirty on trial; one Minister; two subordinate paid Agents; two chapels, and three other preaching-places; two day and Sabbath schools, one hundred and fifty-six day scholars. The population and members would have been much larger, but for the severe and terrible droughts which have visited the locality, and decimated the people.

CAPE TOWN.—As already stated, the Society in Cape Town consisted of a few soldiers, who in process of time were removed, and the work became extinct for a while. In 1819 the prospects again began to brighten, and Mr. Edwards commenced regular religious service; of which Mr. Shaw writes: "In the year 1819 I again waited on His Excellency the Governor, when the Colonial Secretary was likewise present. Feeling assured from that interview that there would then be no hinderance to the commencement of a Mission in the metropolis, Mr. Edwards was immediately appointed to it. He hired a store to be used as a place of public worship; and, by subscription, fitted it up with pews and pulpit. The congregation was composed both of civilians and soldiers, and a Class of sixteen members was then formed. Mr. Edwards on the Sabbath afternoon repaired to the place where the slaves were accustomed to dance, and by persuasive methods induced many of them to attend the services. The members of the Class, at my arrival, were all soldiers, with the exception of Mr. West, their Leader." Thus this infant cause assumed its first distinct form, and entered upon an aggressive course. The day was small, but the day of "small things" was not to be "despised."

As might be expected among zealous Methodists, the coloured and slave portion of the population soon attracted attention, and called forth separate effort in order to supply them with the means of religious instruction and

saving knowledge. Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson having arrived, systematic efforts were commenced to obtain funds for the erection of a chapel for the separate use of the coloured races.

The devoted and enthusiastic Threlfall, who was afterwards brutally murdered when on an exploring tour in the interior, arrived about this time, and gives the following account of what he witnessed: "I found the brethren and their wives in tolerable health. The chapel is nearly finished, and will be a convenient place for the slaves. The school for the slaves is pretty well attended, and the children are kept in good order. The Missionaries are indefatigable. They have either school or preaching to attend to every night except Saturdays. Adults as well as children attend; their progress in reading is considerable; they sing very well. The second evening I attended the children's school I could not refrain from tears; all appeared so interested and diligent."

The chapel being completed, its dedication to the solemn worship of God was an occasion of gratitude and joy. The event is thus recorded: "On June 16th, 1822, the chapel was opened for religious worship by the Rev. Dr. Philip and others. Thirty pounds were collected at the services; and though the building cost six hundred pounds, it was erected without any assistance from the Missionary Committee. This was to me a day of gratitude and joy; for, on reviewing the past, I could recollect the time when we assembled for worship in a kind of *hay-loft*; in order to come at which we had to pass the heels of the horses in the stable beneath, and ascend an awkward and dangerous ladder. To God be all the praise!"

The Missionary afterwards gives expression to those feelings of sadness which often oppress the spirit, arising out of prevailing indifference on religious subjects among those around him; and states that this is heavier to be borne than any of the physical and social trials to which he was exposed in his pioneer work.

The following description of the school is unique: "Our school consists of the greatest possible variety. Here are the *aged*, learning to spell with spectacles; and *babes*, who can

just waddle to the school. Here are children of Heathens, Mohammedans, and Christians; children who are descendants of parents from all the four quarters of the globe; faces of every colour, and countenances of every expression; some slaves, as *white as snow*; some free, as *black as jet*. Among all this variety, however, we have but one who is learning the English language."

The Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, calling at the Cape on his way to Kaffraria, observes: "June 4th.—Brother B. Shaw came from Khamies Berg to take the superintendence of Cape Town Circuit, and several Namacquas came down with him. It was very delightful to hear them singing the praises of God in family worship. The Gospel has evidently been a great blessing to that people. Before philosophers have time to decide the disputed question, whether or not a degraded heathen people can be benefitted by Missionary exertions, facts present themselves, and render further debate unnecessary; and the Missionary exhibits the moral miracles wrought through his instrumentality, by the accompanying power of God. He shows 'his living epistles, known and read of all men.'"

These quotations sufficiently illustrate the origin and nature of the good work begun at the Cape, which has been carried on, with varied success, from that time to the present.

In 1828 Mr. Shaw visited England, where he was not only very cordially received, but his statements concerning Mission work did much towards creating and stimulating Missionary effort. Amongst other effects of this visit, large contributions were freely given towards the erection of a more commodious chapel in Cape Town. He returned to Africa in 1829, and at once took steps by which to carry out this laudable design. The chapel and Mission-house thus erected were opened and occupied in 1830. Of this event we have the following record in his "Memorials:—" "March 4th.—The opening of our chapel at Cape Town took place on the 13th of last month. Brother K., who was here at the time, on his way to England, preached in the morning, from Psalm lxxii. 16–18. Several respectable individuals were present on the occasion. In consequence

of the sickness of the Rev. A. Fame, one of the Ministers of the Reformed Church, I was constrained to preach in Dutch in the evening. Sermons were afterwards delivered by the Rev. Messrs. Von•Staveson, Adamson, Piers, and Beck. All the congregations appeared to feel interested. The chapel is neat and well built. The dwelling-house adjoining it is sufficiently large for the Mission family, and occasional visitors from the Interior or the East. How changed the scene ! When I arrived here in 1816, I could not obtain the sanction of Government to preach even in a private house. ‘The Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad.’ Our thanks are due to several of the Cape residents, who gladly came forward to sign the deed of trust, and especially to some of the Dutch gentlemen who understood the nature of Cape building. We availed ourselves of their advice ; and, though our chapel stands on the ‘Cape of Tempests,’ we doubt not but that it will remain when this and many other generations shall have passed away. May the Highest Himself establish our Zion, that it may be said of her, ‘This and that man was born there !’ ”

Methodism in Cape Town must from this time be regarded as having a “local habitation and a name.” The change which had come over the scene since 1816 is fitly alluded to in the preceding quotation from Mr. Shaw ; and to his mind it must have been specially gratifying. Only those who have had to battle with first great difficulties can appreciate the success achieved after years of patient toil and persevering effort. Mr. Shaw “rejoiced to see” this “day : and he saw it, and was glad.”

As men and means increased, the work was gradually but rapidly extended through the districts of the Cape and into Great Namacqualand and Damaraland, until, in 1850, the following was the list of Stations :

CAPE TOWN AND RONDEBOSCH : William Moister, Thomas L. Hodgson, Barnabas Shaw, Benjamin Ridsdale.

WYNBERG, SIMON’S TOWN, &c. : Richard Haddy.

STELLENBOSCH : Edward Edwards.

SOMERSET (WEST) : Richard Ridgill.

KHAMIESBERG (LITTLE NAMACQUALAND) : Joseph Jackson.

NISBET-BATH (GREAT NAMACQUALAND): John A. Bailie,
Assistant Missionary.

CONCORDIAVILLE (DAMARALAND): Matthew Godman.

ELEPHANT FOUNTAIN (DAMARALAND): Joseph Tindall.

ROODE VOLK (DAMARALAND): John Thomas, 2nd.

WILLIAM MOISTER, CHAIRMAN, &c.

On these Stations there was in 1850 an aggregate number of accredited Church members of 1,539.

To give a detailed account of the rise and extension of the work in each separate place is beyond what the limits of this history will allow; but full information may be obtained by consulting the Rev. Barnabas Shaw's "Memorials of South Africa," and the Rev. William Moister's "Missionary Labours in Africa," &c.

In 1867, we find, there were eight Ministers and 1,323 members in this District, showing a *decrease*, as contrasted with 1850, of four Ministers and 216 Church members. This is the result of modern "retrenchment" on the part of the parent Wesleyan Missionary Society, arising out of the want of funds; and is *not* the result of non-success in any instance. The whole of Damaraland was first blotted from the Mission map of this District; and more recently Great Namacqualand, including Nisbet Bath and Hoole's Fountain, shared the same fate. Of this latter portion of the Mission field abandoned, some notice must be taken; especially as it was first visited by Mr. Shaw soon after Khamiesberg in Little Namacqualand was commenced, has been the scene of considerable successes, and contains the honoured dust of the Rev. W. Cook and the Missionary Martyr Threlfall. A condensed statement of the history of this Station is contained in the following quotation from Mr. Moister's book: "In the year 1832 a Missionary Meeting was held at Simon's Town, at which Josiah Nisbet, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, occupied the chair. At this meeting affecting reference was made to the three Missionary Martyrs of Namacqualand, and to the morally degraded and destitute condition of the inhabitants of the interior; when the chairman generously offered to give the sum of £200 towards the commencement of a Wesleyan Mission at the Warm Bath among the Bundlezwarts, who

were so anxious to have a Teacher. At the same meeting a zealous young Missionary, the Rev. E. Cook, recently arrived from England, nobly offered himself for this service, and exclaimed, in the language of the Prophet, 'Here am I; send me.' The spontaneous offers of the money and the man were both accepted, and in a short time Mr. and Mrs. Cook were wending their way to Great Namacqualand. This attempt to establish a Mission at the Warm Bath was successful, and the place received a new name in honour of the patron of the enterprise. From that day to this it has appeared on the list of Mission Stations as 'Nisbet Bath, Great Namacqualand.' "

Had Mr. Moister been writing at *this* day, instead of *that*, he could not have used the language above quoted. *Nisbet Bath, in Great Namacqualand, exists no more as a Wesleyan Mission Station.* Nor is it like some other Stations, which have merely changed localities, springing up, phoenix-like, in other places: on the contrary, the whole of that vast extent of country beyond the Orange River has now been abandoned by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The Station has, indeed, been handed over to another Society, but amid the deep sorrow and bitter regret of those who had been gathered in by the Wesleyan Ministry, and who were properly their fruit in the Lord. It has been said that the population is sparse, and other Mission agency adequate; but we cannot admit either of these reasons concerning a Station which has numbered from two hundred to four hundred members for many years past, and on which so much money, labour, and suffering have been expended.

If this be the order and result of "retrenchment," the Wesleyan Missionary Society will not only have some solemn questions to ask, but will need to be prepared to give a good and satisfactory reply. *Methodism is needed for the Cape District and Namacqualand as much as for any other part of the world; and if from crippled finances it cannot be extended, it should at least be maintained in its integrity and entirety where it has already won its conquests and reaped its rewards.* 1867 is the year in which Nisbet Bath ominously disappears from the Minutes of the Wesleyan Conference.

The chapel built and opened in 1830 was enlarged during the superintendency of the Rev. William Moister, and is now a large and commodious building. The writer called at the Cape on his way to the Eastern frontier in the early part of 1840, and preached in the chapel, which was still comparatively small. On his recent visit to England he spent a few days there, both on the homeward and on the return voyage, and preached on both occasions: the congregations were very good, and the services very hearty. The Rev. Samuel Hardey appeared to be the "right man in the right place;" and the effect of his ministry and general spirit evidently told well upon the congregation and the public in general. But he appeared to be oppressed in attempting to do the work which requires at least *two* men to do it as it ought to be done; for, in addition to the duties of Chairman and General Superintendent, he had to do the whole work of the English congregation and Society. It is a pity that such good men should wear themselves out before the time. Since then, however, a second Preacher has been appointed.

The term "Dutch," as applied to the second Circuit in Cape Town, does not represent correctly the people included. According to this designation a stranger would suppose that it consisted of Dutch colonists of European descent; instead of which, it does not apply to them at all, but emphatically to the different races of *coloured* persons speaking the Dutch language. These embrace persons of all shades of colour, from the pale or yellow Hottentot and half-caste, down to the jet black Mozambique or late slave; as would be seen in the quotations given above from Mr. Shaw. The amount of good effected among these varied races is not to be tabulated in figures or told by human tongue; only "*the day*" can and will "*declare it.*" The Wesleyan ministerial agency employed at the Cape is small compared with the work done and the results effected. But even these results would be larger if many Wesleyans who visit the Cape were more loyal to their Church. Comparatively, Methodism at the Cape has not taken the position of influence which some other Churches have; and consequently many Wesleyans of respectability, when

visiting the Cape, have found it convenient not to know—or at any rate not to identify themselves with—their own Church. It is painful and humbling to record such a fact, but a faithful historian cannot pass it by unnoticed. There have, however, been many honourable exceptions; and not unfrequently gentlemen from India and other countries, not connected with the Methodist body, have countenanced it by their presence and help.

In bringing down the progress of Methodism in Cape Town to the present time, (1876,) we have to record that a change for the better has gradually come over it; so that whilst the preceding remarks truly and fitly represent the discouragements and difficulties with which Methodism had to contend in days gone by, a fresh order of things must brighten the present page. A new and greatly improved chapel had long been needed, but the means were for some time wanting: these were, however, at length forthcoming, and at the same time an eligible site providentially offered itself, and was secured for the much desired house of God. When the necessary arrangements had been made, the corner-stone was laid by the Governor, Sir Henry Barkley, on May 6th, 1875. The following is an account of the proceedings on that occasion.

“For a considerable time past the Wesleyan body in Cape Town have found their present church accommodation too restricted, and accordingly steps have been taken to meet the deficiency; and they are certainly to be congratulated on having obtained one of the most central, eligible, and commodious sites in the city, namely, in Greenmarket Square, just at the corner of Burg and Longmarket Streets. This site was purchased shortly after the unfortunate fire which destroyed Mr. Landsberg’s mercantile premises; and the erection of the new building, which has the advantage of possessing two admirable frontages, was entrusted to Mr. B. Godfrey. Thursday was the day fixed for laying the foundation-stone, and the occasion was well and appropriately chosen. In the first place it was Ascension Day, and consequently a holiday; this affording many an opportunity of witnessing the auspicious and im-

portant ceremony, who otherwise would have been debarred that pleasure. Moreover, as Parliament is sitting, many members of the Legislature were able to be present, not a few of whom, as is well known, are members of the Wesleyan denomination ; and doubtless assisted, not alone with their presence, but with their contributions. The afternoon fortunately was fine, although the indications touching the weather at the commencement of the day were far from favourable, and almost induced the belief that the ceremony would have to be postponed, or at all events conducted with no small discomfort and inconvenience. Towards midday, however, the sun shone out brightly, and as the hour for laying the stone approached, Greenmarket Square presented quite a gay and animated appearance. The site of the new building was railed off, and admittance to the enclosure had to be gained by tickets ; but the whole square was crowded, and even the surrounding house-tops were quite packed with sightseers. There was a good display of bunting and evergreens, and at the principal entrance a sort of triumphal arch was erected, bearing the inscriptions in white letters on a blue ground, ‘To the honour and glory of God,’ and, ‘God save the Queen.’ About four o’clock His Excellency the Governor drove up in an open carriage, and was conducted to the spot where the ceremony of the day was to be performed. We should, however, state that the proceedings commenced at half-past two, with an interesting address by the Rev. R. Ridgill, in the Wesleyan chapel, Burg Street ; the subject being the rise and progress of Wesleyan Methodism in South Africa, especially in Cape Town and its vicinity. The crowded audience listened attentively to the delivery of this address.

“ At a quarter to four, the Ministers, office-bearers, and friends specially invited, accompanied by the Sunday schools, proceeded to the site of the new church, and took up the place assigned to them. The order of the procession was as follows : 1. All the Ministers of the different Churches. 2. The Trustees of the new chapel. 3. The Office-bearers of the Church ; the Elders and Deacons, &c., of all other Churches were present. 4. The Ticket-holders

joined the procession in proceeding to the ground. 5. The Choir also joined. A hymn was sung by the choir ; and after prayer offered by the Rev. Dr. Robertson, and the reading of a passage from the Holy Scriptures, a short address to the Governor was read by the Rev. H. Tindall, as follows :

“ ‘MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY : The honour has been accorded to me of expressing to your Excellency the gratification which your presence on this auspicious occasion affords to the Ministers, office-bearers, and members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Cape Town and its vicinity. The congregations with which they are identified have, in many instances, been indebted to the honoured representatives of our gracious Sovereign the Queen for acts of kindness and consideration, of which they have endeavoured to prove themselves not unworthy, by their uniform loyalty and hearty allegiance ; but they have never been favoured with a more distinguished manifestation of the appreciation in which they are held, as citizens and Christians, by those who rule over them, than that which the position your Excellency has consented this day to occupy confers upon them. The pleasure they feel is enhanced by the personal worth and administrative ability for which your Excellency is distinguished. The period during which your Excellency has presided over the affairs of this Colony has been remarkable for the large and important undertakings which have been commenced under your auspices. We sincerely trust your term of office may be prolonged to witness their completion. To those in whose name I now address your Excellency, the erection of this edifice will be an enterprise involving much anxiety and effort, and they will have, to some extent, to call in the sympathy and help of their fellow-citizens. Whilst keeping in view their own religious requirements, they are also endeavouring to raise a structure which shall be an ornament to the city, and in keeping with its expected progress. On behalf of the Trustees and Building Committee, to whose invitation you have so cordially acceded, I beg most sincerely to thank your Excellency. Those, as whose spokesman I now have the honour to address your Excellency, will ever

pray that the blessing of Divine wisdom and strength may be granted to you while you sustain the honourable office of Governor and High Commissioner of this Colony, and that your whole future career may be crowned with distinction and happiness, to be consummated hereafter by a place in the temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'

"His Excellency replied as follows :

" 'My part in the ceremony of to-day by no means entitles me to the kind eulogiums contained in the address which you have just presented to me on behalf of the Trustees and Building Committee of the new Wesleyan Methodist church. I felt gratified at the invitation given me to lay this foundation-stone, because, whilst of course aware that it was primarily addressed to me as the representative of Her Majesty, I yet knew that the members of the Wesleyan community would not have selected me for the performance of so solemn a duty, unless they were confident that I took a real interest in their pious undertaking. In my representative capacity they had almost a right to expect my services ; for, though in this Colony the State is unconnected with any religious body, it does not follow that because it is undenominational, it should be irreligious. On the contrary it must ever be deeply concerned in all that conduces to the spread of morality and the repression of crime. In my private capacity, my cordial sympathy and good-will might well be counted on, although I do not belong to the Wesleyan communion, but to the English Episcopal Church. Of that sympathy and good-will the Committee may rest assured. I have seen too many proofs of the zeal and devotion of Wesleyan Ministers, as well as of the success which has attended their labours among the heathen in this and other colonies, not to have learnt to respect them highly, and to desire to co-operate with them whenever I consistently can. Never perhaps since the grand cardinal event, which Christians of all denominations this day celebrate, has the Church which our Lord before His ascension founded stood, humanly speaking, more in need of union and harmony. Never was there a period during the eighteen centuries and upwards which have

elapsed, when the very existence of Christianity seemed more seriously threatened by attacks from without, by dissensions within. Surely, therefore, Christians should as much as possible agree to sink minor differences of opinion, and unite on occasions like the present in endeavouring to resist the common foe. Every church built, every school chapel founded, serves as an outwork thrown up against infidelity and sin ; whatever the particular corps of Christians is called, by which it is to be manned. Who cares, when his country is invaded, whether it be by the regular army or the volunteers that the enemy is held in check ? The soldiers of the one may boast the greater antiquity of his traditions ; its better organization and discipline : the others, their independent, less formal, yet more enthusiastic spirit : but all march under the same banner ; all serve the same Lord ; and all may humbly hope, when they have fought the good fight, to receive crowns of glory in the same heaven.'

“ The customary formalities then followed ; His Excellency using a very handsome silver trowel, specially provided for the occasion ; and after some coins and papers of the day had been deposited, the foundation stone, a large block of granite, was slowly lowered into its place, and declared laid. A salver was then placed on the stone, in which donations appeared to be placed freely ; and after the singing of another hymn, and the pronouncing of the benediction, the proceedings terminated with ‘ God save the Queen.’

“ We may add that the design of the new church will be Gothic, and furnish accommodation for a thousand persons. A prominent feature of the edifice will be a tower and spire, rising one hundred and forty feet from the level of the pavement. This will not only serve as an ornament, but furnish the means for the escape of hot air, thus ventilating the interior perfectly. The nave will be nearly sixty feet high to the underside of the ridging, and twenty-five feet wide in the clear. There will be an organ gallery in the chancel behind the pulpit, and at the opposite end of the church another gallery, extending across the nave and both aisles. Each gallery will have a handsome

tracery front, with panelled ceilings. The arches at the sides of the nave are elegantly designed, and the roof of the nave itself will be of deal, open-timbered, stained, and varnished. The walls will be finished inside in rough plaster, gauged with cement. The proposed entrances are three in number, two in Long-market Street and one in Burg Street, and all the doors will be of oak. The windows are to be glazed with cathedral glass, and the lighting furnished by gas wreaths above the capitals of the nave, which proves very effective. The roof is to be of slate, finished with an ornamental ridge crest, and pierced with picturesque dormer ventilators. The walls, of blue stone, with a granite plinth as high as the top level of the entrance steps. The foundations are carried down into the solid rock underlying the site, and the building surrounded by an ornamental iron railing. The inside dimensions are one hundred and four feet six inches by fifty-five feet. Altogether the new church will prove a striking feature in the city from an architectural point of view ; and we congratulate the Wesleyan community on the success that has hitherto attended their efforts, and the prospect of possessing so fine and commodious an edifice for the purposes of public worship.

“ An enthusiastic meeting was held in the evening, and the subscriptions amounted to £200 ; making £326 subscribed during the day.”

The whole of these proceedings are in the highest sense gratifying, whilst they reflect distinguished honour upon the parties concerned. Every true-hearted Christian must not only endorse the admirable address of the Governor, but rejoice in the expression of such truly noble, catholic, and Christian sentiments by one so high in office as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen of England.

Various causes have contributed to prevent the speedy completion of the proposed beautiful ecclesiastical edifice ; so that the writer is not able to record the opening services which will take place not long hence, and be, no doubt, in accordance with the auspicious commencement. Then the venerable Chairman of the District, the Rev. Samuel

Hardey, with his worthy coadjutors, may rejoice in the consummation of their desires and prayers.

This, however, is not the only house of God in course of erection in the Cape District. One is being built at *Stellenbosch*, to seat about five hundred persons. Estimated cost, £2,000: style of architecture, early English: about £1,200 in hand.

The advances which have been made towards self-support are also of a very gratifying character. Thus Cape Town (English) supports, without aid from the parent Society, three Ministers: Cape Town (Native), one Missionary. Khamiesberg (Lily Fountain) supports a married Missionary, and, in conjunction with Copper Mines, a second to some extent. So that, considering the various and numerous discouragements and difficulties with which the District has had to contend, it has developed a good degree of truly noble action and Christian effort. The annexed Tabular View will show the nature and extent of operations in the District.

Education.—This chapter would not be complete without a brief account of educational movements. From the commencement of this Mission, those who laboured in it with tireless, self-denying zeal, directed special attention to education both in Sabbath and day schools. As already quoted, the schools contained old men and young children,—“some slaves, *as white as snow*; some free, *as black as jet*.” The school operations thus commenced amidst difficulty and opposition were continued and increased as years rolled on, and as the means of extending them were obtained; so that, from the first, this has been a power in the Cape Mission. Its importance cannot be over-estimated. There is still much of ignorance and profligacy among the lower orders in Cape Town, notwithstanding the efforts of all the Christian denominations in the town; but how much more aggravated and deplorable must this have been but for the extensive and hard-working agency of the energetic Wesleyans!

The nature and extent of these operations are thus set forth by Mr. Moister: “But the most encouraging and hopeful department of our work was that which pertained

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE DISTRICT.

TABULAR VIEW, 1875.

| Circuits. | Chapels. | Other Places. | Missionaries. | Subord. Agents. | | | Unpaid Agents. | Members. | On Trial. | Sabbath Schools. | Sabbath Scholars. | Day Schools. | Day Scholars. | Scholars, deducting, &c. | | | Adherents including, &c. |
|---------------------------|----------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------------------------|
| | | | | Catechists. | Day School Techs. | Sab. School Techs. | Loc. Prechs., &c. | | | | | | | Boys. | Girls. | Total. | |
| Cape Town (English) ... | 4 | | 3 | | 8 | 99 | 5 | 220 | 2 | 6 | 982 | 3 | 524 | 654 | 646 | 1300 | 2100 |
| Ditto (Native) | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | 16 | 3 | 191 | 51 | 1 | 176 | | | 105 | 125 | 230 | 900 |
| Wynberg (ditto) | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | 9 | 1 | 42 | 1 | 2 | 145 | 1 | 74 | 80 | 102 | 182 | 475 |
| Klipfontein (ditto)..... | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 42 | 2 | 1 | 53 | 1 | 33 | 25 | 33 | 58 | 400 |
| Simon's Town (English) | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | 12 | 1 | 41 | 5 | 1 | 125 | 1 | 32 | 43 | 50 | 93 | 600 |
| Stellenbosch (Native) ... | 2 | | 1 | | 4 | 12 | 2 | 221 | 102 | 2 | 148 | 2 | 339 | 186 | 204 | 390 | 1120 |
| Somerset, West (ditto)... | 3 | | 1 | | 5 | 10 | 3 | 200 | 10 | 2 | 144 | 3 | 358 | 195 | 181 | 376 | 900 |
| Robertson (ditto) | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 15 | 3 | 150 | 19 | 2 | 265 | 2 | 188 | 147 | 260 | 407 | 950 |
| Khamiesberg (lit'o) | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 193 | 10 | 3 | 170 | 2 | 130 | 77 | 123 | 200 | 1400 |
| Totals | 20 | 10 | 11 | 2 | 25 | 184 | 26 | 1300 | 202 | 20 | 2208 | 15 | 1678 | 1512 | 1724 | 3236 | 8845 |

to the training up of the rising generation. Reference has already been made to our interesting and prosperous Sabbath schools in Cape Town. These useful institutions were not only extended to the rural districts, but the number of day schools was increased, and we had ultimately one in connexion with every principal Station. At an early period the Colonial Government extended its fostering care to district schools for the education of the children of the higher classes of society; and when it awoke to the importance and necessity of doing something more for the instruction of the poor, we put in our claim, in common with other religious bodies, and obtained grants in aid for sixteen day schools. This was a great help to us, and considerably relieved the funds of the parent Missionary Society, as in many instances the Government grant and the children's school have entirely supported the institutions. In the absence of a normal school for the training of native Teachers, we did our best by private instruction, and by frequently visiting the schools, to improve our agents, and more fully to prepare them for their important work. On our country Stations we were obliged to commence by giving them elementary instruction in the native language of the people: but, in accordance with the requirements of Government, and our own convictions of duty, we invariably strove to lead our pupils on to a knowledge of the English tongue. Notwithstanding the difficulties with which we had to contend, we succeeded in the educational department of our work far beyond what many would suppose; for, whilst some of our schools, especially in the rural districts, were much below what we could have desired, others in the towns and villages were of a very respectable character."

The school operations commenced and carried on, down to the time of Mr. Moister's book being published, have been continued with undiminished zeal to the present day. The greater facilities afforded by Government aid have been secured and utilized, so that not only have elementary schools been conducted, but also a good grammar school in Cape Town; and in the Government examination the schools have stood high among their various compeers. The

fact of there being fifteen day schools, containing 1,678 scholars, is in itself of great importance; these being sustained and strengthened by twenty Sabbath schools, with 2,208 scholars.

In closing the chapter on the Cape District, the following remarks written by Mr. Moister are true to-day in a still greater degree than when they were penned by him some years ago: "Christian villages have been settled in many places where a few years ago the darkness of heathenism prevailed. The arts of civilized life have been taught to native tribes once barbarous and savage in the extreme. Churches have been organized, and schools established for the training of the rising generation, to an extent which cannot fail to be productive of the best results in time to come. And, best of all, precious souls have been won for Christ from almost every native tribe in South Africa; many of whom have been found worthy to be employed as Teachers and Preachers for the benefit of their fellow countrymen. In our colonial towns several intelligent and talented young men, themselves the fruit of Missionary labour, have been called to the work of the Ministry, and are discharging the duties of their sacred calling with credit to themselves and advantage to the people among whom they labour."

CHAPTER II.

THE GRAHAM'S TOWN DISTRICT. EASTERN FRONTIER OF THE
CAPE COLONY.

THOSE persons who are acquainted with the geography of the Cape Colony will not need to be informed that what is technically called the "Eastern Province" of the Cape Colony is by no means the same as what is generally designated the Cape Colony. Cape Town is the metropolis of the Western Province, being on the western part of the Cape peninsula; whilst the Eastern Province, of which Graham's Town is the metropolis, is six hundred miles to the eastward. "The Eastern Frontier" has been the line of boundary—reaching from the sea to the Stormberg range of mountains—which has separated the white European population from the Kaffir races. Along this line the different Kaffir wars have from time to time raged. This part of South Eastern Africa was the scene of the labours of the late Rev. William Shaw and his coadjutors; some account of whose labours and successes will be given in this and the following chapter. Nothing more, however, will be recorded than what is quite needful to supply the reader with a brief, connected history of what has transpired. Any person who desires fuller information may obtain it in Shaw's "Story of my Mission;" or in a still more recent work, the "Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw" by the Rev. W. B. Boyce. Some quotations will be made from these authentic records, which may not always be acknowledged; but in any such cases the reader will know from what sources they are derived.

It was to this part of South Eastern Africa that the British settlers came in the early part of the year 1820; a full account of which is given in the "Story of my Mission." The Rev. William Shaw was their Minister or Chaplain. They landed at Port Elizabeth, and were

located along the seaboard line from the Bushman's River to the Fish River; the tract of country having received the general name of "Lower Albany." There were some four thousand settlers, who were placed in "parties" or companies in different villages at suitable distances from each other. During the first years of their settlement they had to endure many disappointments, privations, and hardships; but they nobly battled with them until they effectually overcame them. Many afterwards obtained considerable wealth, and bequeathed a goodly heritage to their children. They were really the foundation of the English part of the South African dominion; and have since spread to Natal and to different parts of the far interior: the intelligence and steady push of the Anglian race having borne them successfully onward. Three disastrous Kaffir wars have desolated the frontier, and inflicted sore and distressing losses upon them in property and life; but they, phoenix-like, have risen from their ashes, and now occupy a commanding position, from which they will not be driven. Mr. Shaw took up his abode and commenced his labours among the "Salem party," their location being situated at a distance of about sixteen miles from the present site of Graham's Town. This became at once the centre and seat of ministerial operations; from whence Mr. Shaw began to itinerate among the different locations of the settlers, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot; being often subjected to much hardship, and sometimes to great personal danger; but, nothing daunted, he pursued his way, administering to the spiritual wants of the people, and often imparting useful information in connexion with their temporal affairs.

Mr. Shaw's own words will fitly describe the commencement of public worship: "My first care on our arrival at Salem was to establish religious ordinances for the benefit of the settlers who were under my special pastoral oversight. The rude structure originally erected by a Dutch farmer, who had removed to another farm granted to him by the Government, was used, as already stated, for various purposes for the common benefit of the people, and it served very well as a temporary chapel. For lack

of a pulpit I was accustomed to stand on a small box ; and a writing-desk, placed on the top of an American flour barrel, behind which I stood, formed the resting-place for the Bible and other books used in public worship. The people soon provided themselves with stools or benches ; and in the course of a few weeks the congregation had been regularly formed."

Those who thus assembled for public worship in this primitive style were not by any means all members of the Wesleyan Society ; but the congregation embraced persons of all Protestant denominations ; and a catholic spirit and preaching on the great truths of the Gospel, rather than denominational distinctions, secured the attendance of most of those who were able to be present. To these dwellers in the wilderness, recently come from their fatherland, where they had enjoyed the means of grace in their amplitude, even this simple mode of worship must have been a great boon, and in many respects was not unlike the mode of procedure adopted on the great American continent when the "Pilgrim Fathers" began their humble course, which has led on to such mighty results.

As soon as possible Mr. Shaw began to itinerate among the different locations of settlers. His own account is : "In those days this was an undertaking of no small difficulty. There was at the time no map of the district, showing the relative positions of the various settlements ; and, excepting the principal line of road by which the settlers had reached the country from Algoa Bay, there were no roads leading to their several locations. I could only obtain some very vague information from some Hot-tentots, who told me to travel in the direction of certain distant hills, and that I should find settlers' tents, to the right or left, as the case happened to be. On these early journeys, of course, I frequently missed my way, and was at times benighted in the woods, which at that time were infested with various kinds of ferocious animals. I could not always obtain a horse, and hence I had frequently to walk over considerable distances through rugged districts upon unformed paths, and not seldom to wade through unbridged streams that intersect the district. In-

deed, several years subsequently to this period, my Missionary colleagues, before they became familiar with the country, often missed their way; and occasionally it happened that a Missionary had to solace himself at night in the midst of a bush, by seeking such security and repose as could be obtained by climbing a tree and seating himself in its branches, to await the return of day."

It was no matter of wonder that the Gospel messenger should be received with favour under such circumstances. "I visited in rotation nearly all the principal settlements; and preached to as many as I could assemble at the various places which presented the most likely points for forming congregations. Everywhere I was received by the English settlers with great kindness and even gratitude. They felt thankful to the man, previously wholly unknown to them, who had come to them in their rude and hardly formed homes in the wilderness, to preach among them the 'glorious Gospel of the blessed God.'"

As a natural consequence of these religious services being performed, small chapels began to be erected in the various locations. These were, as a matter of course, humble and rude structures, especially as compared with the goodly temples of the fatherland; but they, nevertheless, were of great value, and served to contribute much to the spiritual comfort of those who were making a new home in the wilderness. Clumber, Green Fountain, Ebenezer, Traps Valley, Bathurst, Port Francis, Reid Fountain, Collingham, Manly's Flat, Seven Fountains: all these places of worship were well attended during the early period of the settlement; but subsequently some of the people removed to other parts of the Eastern Province, and some of the chapels were left; but even this only led to the erection of others, of larger dimensions and more commodious structure, in other places.

The present city of Graham's Town—"the city of the settlers"—was first visited by Mr. Shaw on Christmas Day, 1820; and of it he says: "Held a Prayer-meeting at five o'clock this morning; the power of God was present. After dinner rode to Graham's Town, completely wet on the way by a heavy rain; preached in the evening at Mr.

Lucas's, to about twenty persons, in English; and immediately after, at their own request to about the same number of Hottentots, in Dutch. One of them prayed after my sermon, and it affected me to my very soul to hear them cry out with peculiar earnestness, '*O Heere, zend leeraar voor ons arme Heidenen:*' 'O Lord, send a teacher for us poor Heathen;' meaning one who should reside among them, and give them instruction regularly. I am told that the number of Hottentots stationed here, including their wives and children and those who live as servants in the town, is scarcely less than *one thousand souls!* These are all as sheep without a shepherd; and most of them have come from some of the various Missionary Establishments; but, alas! in Graham's Town there is no Minister, not even for the Europeans; and both classes, generally speaking, (what marvel?) are sunk very low in drunkenness, lewdness, and many other deadly sins."

How wondrously and favourably does the "city of the settlers" of to-day contrast with the painful reality of Christmas Day, 1820! Then, there was not one place of public worship; now, there are churches and chapels not a few: then, not a single Minister to reside among the Europeans and the Hottentots; now, it would require some time to enumerate the number of Ministers of different denominations, who reside in the city; whilst noble stores and handsome dwelling-houses, beautiful gardens, and a forest of trees, all contribute to make it a gem where only a wild grassy waste before existed.

The first foundation stone had to be laid of the first temple to be built to the God of heaven; and it was laid, December 5th, 1821. Mr. Shaw says, "The following entries in my Journal best state my feelings and views at that time concerning this event." "December 5th.—This morning I had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone of the new chapel at Graham's Town. Prayer was offered to God for His blessing. Although Graham's Town has had a considerable population, English, Dutch, and Hottentot, for sometime, yet I found on my arrival no place of worship in it whatever, nor any public recognition of the being of God. Of course morals were at a standard ex-

tremely low." The chapel was opened on Sunday, November 10th, 1822.

From this point the progress became rapid. Representations were sent to England of the extreme spiritual destitution of the country, and earnest requests made for an increased number of Missionaries, which were nobly responded to by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London. The Rev. Messrs. Threlfall, Young, and Kay were among the first supplies; in 1830, the brethren Palmer, Boyce, and Cameron were added; later on, Edwards, Davis, and Shrewsbury; subsequently, Messrs. Richards, Green, and Impey. In the early part of 1840 a large addition was made—Pearse, Gladwin, Taylor, Holden, T. Smith, J. Smith, Thomas, and Appleyard, with their wives; giving great increase of strength to the Mission, and enabling the District Meeting to occupy new fields of labour, as also to render more fruitful those which were already occupied. Up to 1840, the Wesleyan Church was almost the only one which provided for the spiritual wants of the colonists, and of large numbers of natives, of different races, who dwelt among the Europeans as servants, &c., in the towns, and on the homesteads of the farmers. Since that time other Churches have entered into their labours, and are reaping a large harvest of respectable adherents.

In process of time, as the work extended and the congregations increased, it was found needful to obtain a large and more commodious chapel. This chapel was erected on a more favourable site than the former, and was of considerably better architectural construction; it would accommodate eight hundred persons, and cost about £3,000. "It was opened for public worship on Sunday, December 16th, 1832." Mr. Shaw "preached in the forenoon; the Rev. Mr. Monroe (Independent) in the afternoon; and the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury in the evening. The Rev. Mr. Davis (Baptist Minister) preached on the following Monday evening. The collections at these opening services amounted to more than one hundred pounds. Most of the pews were speedily let, and the large additional accommodation soon began to be occupied by an increasing and serious congregation."

Commemoration Chapel.—As time rolled on, and the

work of God increased and spread, Wesley Chapel, the last named, also became too small, and one of much larger dimensions was required. Mr. Shaw and other leading friends thought this a suitable time for building a chapel of large size and considerable architectural importance. As it was twenty-five years since the arrival of the settlers, it was thought that to erect a thoroughly good chapel would be at once an acknowledgment of the good hand of God upon the settlers for good, and would serve at the same time to stand out as a noble thank-offering for the great benefits received. A full account of the proceedings is given by Mr. Shaw in his "Story of my Mission," pp. 243-251; to which I must refer the reader who desires more ample information on the subject. The cost of the building was £9,000. The foundation stone was laid on April 10th, 1845, by the worthy and honoured lady, Ann Shaw, the wife of the General Superintendent. This was done with much ceremony and suitable devotional exercises.

Considerable delay in the erection took place, arising chiefly out of the Kaffir war of 1846, which with other causes prevented the chapel from being finished until 1850. The dedication services were commenced on Sunday, November 24th, and were continued over December 1st. Mr. Shaw preached the opening sermon, the collection amounting to £157. As it was the time of the District Meeting, several other brethren connected with the Mission took part in the services; and the total amount of collections amounted to the noble sum of £525; still, however, leaving a debt of £5,000, which large sum has since been defrayed. Though twenty-five years have passed away since this beautiful chapel was opened for the solemn worship of God, it shows no signs of decay, but is a noble monument of the gratitude, the liberality, and the zeal of the British settlers of 1820. Many souls have been born for glory there; and it is to be hoped that the special influence of God's saving power may be increasingly felt within its hallowed walls.

Two similar chapels for the English congregations have since been erected in Graham's Town; one on West Hill, the foundation stone of which was laid by Mrs. Impey,

wife of the Rev. William Impey, General Superintendent ; and the other at Fort England, by the wife of the Rev. John Richards, near the spot where Mr. Shaw preached his first sermon in the house of Mrs. Lucas. Good substantial chapels, of varying size, have also been built at Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, King William's Town, Heald Town, Fort Beaufort, Queen's Town, Cradock, and other places : all of which bear testimony to the zeal and self-denial of the congregations worshipping in them.

By degrees, as the population of the Colony increased, and one district town after another arose, the Wesleyan Minister was the first Gospel messenger to visit that town ; and the first ecclesiastic edifice to rear its head was the Wesleyan chapel. The colonists of the present day, who have abundant churches and ordinances connected with their own particular denominations, know but little of the benefits conferred on the Colony by the early ministrations of the Methodists, or the extent of obligation incurred by their self-denying zeal. Nor should they be unmindful of the large amount of money expended by the parent Wesleyan Missionary Society in England in commencing and aiding these colonial congregations, until they acquired sufficient numbers and temporal means to pay the salaries of their own Ministers. This is now done to a considerable extent ; but there are still some English congregations which have to be aided from the home funds.

One thing which greatly contributed to the increase and spread of true religion was, the very gracious revivals of the work of God which took place from time to time, and which brought out into happy experience and enjoyment those spiritual blessings which proceed alone from the Lord the Spirit. One of these, which took place in 1831, is thus described in W. Shaw's "Story of my Mission :—" "In the year 1831 there was a remarkable revival of religion among the young people of the congregation. Several respectable families, who had for some time been attendants at our chapel, also participated in the religious quickening which was now vouchsafed by the Lord the Spirit. Many were truly converted, and from that time commenced a course of consistent piety which continues to this time ; while

others, after some years of Christian devotedness, died happy in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, leaving the most pleasing reminiscences to their friends of the beauty and excellence of their Christian character."

Since that time there have been a number of revivals, both in Graham's Town and other places, but, alas! they are too few and far between. In the present day there appears to be a large quantity of mere formal worship without a corresponding amount of internal spiritual life. Not that we are to suppose that it is only in revivals that this spiritual life is obtained and enjoyed; no, this ought to go on at all times and in a proportionate ratio with the means employed; but, unfortunately, it is not so. This should cause every true and earnest Christian to ask "the reason why;" should occasion deep searchings of heart as to what is the hinderance; and should call forth earnest prayer, simple faith, and laborious effort, that God may be pleased to pour out His Spirit abundantly, that Zion may be in great prosperity. Nothing can compensate for the absence of spiritual power.

There have been two great hinderances to the increase and spread of spiritual religion; namely, Kaffir wars, and the employment of so many young men in the carrying trade of the country.

Happily the first no longer exists. Many years have passed away since the last Kaffir war of 1852, and probably there will be no return of these terrible scourges. But when they did take place, no language can set forth the extent of spiritual loss which they inflicted, not only in the breaking up of happy godly families, scattering beautiful and prosperous congregations; sending a death chill over spiritual life in experienced Christians; but also in the lowering and actually demoralizing influence of Burger life when in the battle field. Five young men who had been converted to God, and were the promise and strength of the Church, lost their spiritual life and power when out on these "commandoes." Some of them have declared to the writer that it is utterly impossible to conceive the distressing spiritual influence brought to bear upon them whilst absent in the field, so that when they have returned they

have not only been shorn of their strength, but have been unwilling to "repent and do" their "first works" and recover that which they had lost.

But whilst we hope the last of these Kaffir wars **has** passed away, and this danger and evil no longer exists, the employment of so many young men in the carrying or "conveying" trade of the country still remains. Never at any previous period of the history of this Colony were there so many engaged in this traffic as at the present time. These carriers have to leave home with their wagons, and remain absent for one, two, three, four months at a time. They are "on the roads" the whole time. Very many travel not only on the six days of the week which God has given to men, but also take the seventh which belongs to God. In many instances those who would have Christian principle enough to rest the whole Sabbath, are influenced by others who have no regard for the Sabbath, and by degrees lose all sense of shame or sin. In this manner, if there was an incipient work of grace in the soul, it dies: the spark of spiritual life, which should have been fanned into a flame in the holy ordinances of God's house on the Sabbath day, expires. When they return to their homes for a week or two or more, they may attend the public worship of God on the Sabbath day, but the soul is not there, or the soul has no vital power, and does not seek for spiritual quickening, because the deadening process will soon be brought into operation again. This is not the case with all, as some few have acquired sufficient vigour and manliness of soul to be able to maintain their Christian character. But even these are almost wholly lost to the Church; their frequent, long continued absence preventing them from taking any part whatever in the various offices of the Church.

The brief records of this chapter have been confined to the rise and progress of Wesleyan Missions among the English-speaking portion of the community on the frontier of the Cape Colony: but it must not be supposed that these embrace even a moiety of what is being done by other portions of the Protestant Christian Churches.

It does not of course enter into the order of these historical records to enumerate the doings of other Churches

These are on an extensive scale, and are quite commensurate with the requirements of the people. The Dutch Reformed, the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and others, provide for the spiritual wants of their own people. One gratifying fact may be recorded without fear of successful contradiction,—that the spirit of harmony, good will, and co-operation is increasing amongst all the Churches, with perhaps only one solitary exception; and it is to be hoped and expected that there will be a large increase of spiritual religion. This is greatly needed, and there should be unceasing prayer made to Almighty God for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

As the work in the Wesleyan Church has continued to increase, it has been found needful to alter and arrange and extend the working operations to meet new or extended wants. Thus, formerly, what now constitutes the Graham's Town District, the Queen's Town District, and the Bechuana District, was all in one under the general designation of the "Albany and Kaffirland District." The history of these Districts will be related separately. What is written in this chapter relates more immediately to the Graham's Town District, which gives the returns found on the opposite page.

The number of Church members here given for the Graham's Town District is 5,607. The number eleven years ago, before the District was divided, was 5,798: this included what are now the Queen's Town and Bechuana (or Bloem Fontein) Districts. The total number of Church members given at the last returns was 12,672, this being 1,076 over doubling the number in eleven years. This indicates a rate of progress which the writer was not prepared to expect, until proved by actual computation. It is, however, proper to remark that the great proportion of this large increase consists of natives; the increase among the Europeans is by no means so large as it ought to be, considering the amount of agency employed. The net increase in the whole of the South African Districts during the last eleven years is, as nearly as can be ascertained, 7,284; being about one thousand short of doubling the numbers in that time. These results call for devout and ardent thanksgiving to Almighty God.

GRAHAM'S TOWN DISTRICT

TABULAR VIEW, 1875.

| Circuits. | Chapels. | Other Places. | Missionaries. | Subordinate Paid Agents. | | | Unpaid Agents. | | Members. | On Trial. | Sabbath Schools. | Sabbath Scholars. | Day Schools. | Day Scholars. | Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Schools. | | Adherents including Members and Scholars. |
|--|----------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------|----------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|--|-------|---|
| | | | | Catechists, &c. | Day School Teachers. | Local School Teachers. | Boys. | Girls. | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total. | | |
| Graham's Town (English) | 7 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 54 | 8 | 252 | 28 | 4 | 186 | 1 | 135 | 234 | 252 | 486 | 1500 | |
| Ditto (Native) | 4 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 36 | 15 | 269 | 28 | 2 | 309 | 1 | 56 | 150 | 170 | 320 | 1200 | |
| Salem and Farmerfield | 2 | 6 | 1 | | 7 | 9 | 277 | 86 | 2 | 115 | 2 | 182 | 52 | 70 | 122 | 800 | |
| Bethurst and Port Alfred | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 45 | 20 | 309 | 74 | 7 | 309 | 2 | 69 | 139 | 170 | 309 | 1000 | |
| Fort Beaufort, Seymour, & Alice | 6 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 27 | 10 | 262 | 55 | 4 | 209 | 2 | 95 | 89 | 118 | 207 | 1100 | |
| Heald Town | 3 | 18 | 2 | 1 | 36 | 28 | 558 | 140 | 3 | 376 | 3 | 378 | 188 | 190 | 378 | 1700 | |
| Port Elizabeth (English) | 3 | | 2 | | 40 | 8 | 132 | 9 | 3 | 451 | 1 | 65 | 207 | 244 | 451 | 1000 | |
| Ditto (Native) | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 116 | 34 | 1 | 127 | 1 | 118 | 78 | 49 | 127 | 500 | |
| Uitenhage | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 5 | 148 | 35 | 2 | 128 | 1 | 42 | 45 | 83 | 128 | 1000 | |
| Craddock | 1 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 10 | 280 | 37 | 2 | 273 | | | 130 | 143 | 273 | 1000 | |
| Somerset East | 4 | 4 | 1 | | 10 | 9 | 240 | 55 | 2 | 126 | 1 | 68 | 80 | 84 | 164 | 500 | |
| Graaff-Reinet | 1 | 4 | 1 | | 12 | 5 | 84 | 6 | 1 | 105 | | | 54 | 51 | 105 | 380 | |
| Peddie and Newtondale | 12 | 30 | 4 | 2 | 45 | 50 | 770 | 280 | 9 | 434 | 13 | 657 | 300 | 400 | 700 | 2000 | |
| King William's Town (Eng.)) Ditto (Native)) | 8 | 13 | 1 | 3 | 58 | 32 | 480 | 201 | 5 | 542 | 3 | 163 | 249 | 293 | 542 | 3200 | |
| Mount Coke | 3 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 21 | 323 | 176 | 6 | 454 | 6 | 356 | 197 | 257 | 454 | 1400 | |
| Amshay and Perksdale | 9 | 74 | 4 | 5 | 14 | 31 | 1107 | 367 | 9 | 620 | 10 | 681 | 390 | 291 | 681 | 3500 | |
| Totals | 78 | 231 | 32 | 14 | 58 | 460 | 5607 | 1763 | 62 | 5064 | 47 | 3065 | 2582 | 2865 | 5447 | 21780 | |

CHAPTER III.

KAFFIR MISSIONS.

FOR the information of persons not residing in South Africa it is needful to state that in the Colony, as distinguished from Kaffirland, there are a large number of coloured persons of different races: Kaffirs, Fingoe Kaffirs, Hottentots, late slaves, half castes, &c. Of these the Kaffirs and Fingoe Kaffirs largely predominate. Some ask, "What is the difference between Kaffirs and Fingoes?" The difference is that the Kaffirs proper belong to the different tribes which occupy the country between the frontier of the Cape Colony and Natal, generally known as Kaffirland proper. The Fingoe Kaffirs are the remnants of the tribes which formerly dwelt in what is now the Natal Colony, who were conquered and driven out by Utshaka and Udingaan, as is fully explained in my work on the Kaffir Races. The latter were under subjection to the former, and were treated with great severity, until the British troops conquered the Kaffirs, and brought the Fingoes out of Kaffirland. The distinction is still rigidly kept up amongst them; but by an ordinary European it cannot be well observed, as they are one in colour, one in language, and one in customs, with only slight shades of difference.

Numerous coloured persons are employed in the Colony as domestic servants, male and female; wagon-drivers and leaders, shepherds, &c.; and now, on different native locations, as Peddie, Annshaw, and many others, thousands reside, making a total of a large population who are thus interspersed among the white population, and more or less mingling with them. This being the case, Mr. W Shaw and his coadjutors, from the first, began Missionary operations in the Colony; the Preachers in the colonial towns generally having an important native congregation under their charge. The writer has many times preached four

times on the Sabbath ; the services being conducted in the English, Dutch, and Kaffir languages. The great principle of Wesleyan Missions is, that "souls have no colour," and that all souls belong to God ; that Christ died for all ; that He came to save all ; that all are invited to partake of the rich provision of Gospel grace. Very many natives have come from the interior, have worked awhile in the Colony, have become converted, have returned to their friends in their former abode, and either begun a new Mission, or greatly strengthened the one already in existence.

Having stated these facts, and made these explanations, the distant reader will be able to understand more clearly the relative position of the different classes of persons brought into notice. As before stated, Mr. Shaw was the Minister or Chaplain to the settlers, and commenced his ministerial operations amongst them in the Colony, taking at the same time every opportunity of preaching to the natives, as will have been seen in his very first visit to Graham's Town. Had Mr. Shaw not possessed a true Missionary spirit and a very large grasp of soul, he would have been content to have confined his labours to the Colony ; saying truly that he had quite enough to do in his large rough parish without thinking anything of aught beyond : but it was not so. If John Wesley felt that "the world" was his "parish," William Shaw felt that Kaffirland was certainly part of his, and it must be visited as soon as possible. Many hinderances and delays took place, but these did not divert his mind from its object, or retard the preparation for its execution.

Dr. Vanderkemp was the pioneer Missionary to the Kaffir tribes along the boundary ; but, after a trial of eighteen months among the Grikas, he was compelled to abandon the enterprise. The next to follow in this difficult and trying undertaking was Mr. Williams, who commenced his operations on the Kat River, not many miles distant from where I now write. Mr. Shaw thus writes of him : "The Rev Mr. Williams, therefore, with the concurrence of the Chief Gaika, established himself, in June, 1816, on the Kat River, a short distance higher up that stream than where Fort Beaufort now stands. The spot

chosen was then near the colonial boundary, and in the district forming the western extremity of the Kaffir country. Here Mr. Williams, who was a Missionary of great devotedness and industry, soon succeeded in calling a number of Kaffirs, and a still larger number of Ghonaquas, a border tribe of Hottentots who had mingled with the Kaffirs during one or two generations, and many of whom consequently could speak the Kaffir language. Among this people the indefatigable Williams and his excellent wife laboured with ardent zeal, amidst various difficulties. Their efforts were not without success; for they established a regular congregation, their people learned to observe the Sabbath, and a few embraced Christianity. The efforts of Mr. Williams were, however, too exhausting. He erected a dwelling-house and school-house, and made a dam across the Kat River, thereby turning its waters for the purpose of irrigating the cultivated lands. These heavy labours were chiefly the work of his own hands. His health, however, failed; and he died on August 17th, 1818, having been a faithful witness for Christ among this clan of Kaffirs for the space of about two years and two months. His widow, left alone among the natives, made known her painful situation to the nearest friends; and Mr. Hart, of Somerset, most promptly and kindly proceeded to the Kat River, and removed Mrs. Williams into the Colony."

Such is the account given by Mr. Shaw of this Missionary and his wife, who first fairly sat down before this gigantic citadel of Kaffir heathendom. Only those who have some knowledge of the bold, defiant nature of the Kaffir character, of the intense pollution of Kaffir sensuality, of the enslaving power of Kaffir superstition, and the spell which Kaffir customs hold over the race, can form any conception of the arduous nature of this work. There was a moral and Christian heroism about Mr. Williams and his wife of the highest order; they must have been animated and nerved by a faith in the power of the Gospel truly wonderful; whilst their zeal and self-sacrifice were such as have been rarely witnessed. He quietly fell in the noble fight, having only just begun to reap the fruit of his toil.

As I am not willing to make any statement in my historical records which is not fully sustained by fact, I yesterday rode out to visit the tomb of the late Mr. Williams. Mr. Ainslie, a worthy Christian man, lives near the spot, and kindly accompanied me to the place; otherwise I could not have found it, owing to the numerous mimosa and other trees which are growing around it. It is in a rich and beautiful valley, surrounded by grand mountain scenery; the Kat River just emerging from a gorge between two ranges of mountains into the open plain below; about four miles from Fort Beaufort, on the road to Queen's Town. A more favourable site for a Mission Station could not have been selected. The Ghika Kaffirs were numerous in this neighbourhood when Mr. Williams commenced his labours among them. We found the tomb quietly standing in the midst of luxuriant vegetation, surrounded by a good wooden fence, in a state of excellent preservation. The site had been preserved by the brother of the late Rev. Mr. Brownlee, who had previously built a rough dais of stone. These, however, had gone to decay, when, two years ago, the London Missionary Society very properly sent out a good marble slab. Mr. Ainslie had the dais properly built of stone, and the slab placed upon it, with the following inscription:

“ IN MEMORY OF
THE REVEREND JOSEPH WILLIAMS,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE 17TH OF AUGUST, 1818,
AGED 38 YEARS.
AN AGENT OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, AND
THE FIRST MISSIONARY WHO, WITH HIS FAMILY, RESIDED AMONG
THE AMAXOSA TRIBES, AND PREACHED THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST
TO THEM.
' BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHICH DIE IN THE LORD
FROM HENCEFORTH: YEA, SAITH THE SPIRIT, THAT THEY MAY
REST FROM THEIR LABOURS; AND THEIR WORKS DO FOLLOW
THEM.' ”

The situation of the widow and her two children was the most painful that can possibly be conceived of. She was in the midst of heathen Kaffirs, not having an English person nearer than Somerset, a distance of sixty miles, and

had to get a coffin made and her husband buried in the best way she could. Mr. Hart, of Somerset, lost no time in sending for her, and bringing her among friends. Some years afterwards she was married again, to the Rev. Mr. Robson, one of the London Missionary Society's Missionaries in Port Elizabeth. Thirty-five years ago I had the pleasure of spending an evening at the house of these devoted Christian workers. Mr. Robson has been dead some time; but Mrs. Robson still lives, "in age and feebleness extreme," quietly waiting for the call to enter into the joy of her Lord.

Messrs Brownlee and Thompson were the next in order of time in the Kaffir Mission, of whom we learn from the "Story of my Mission." The Rev. J. Brownlee, who had been sent to South Africa by the London Missionary Society, accepted an appointment as the Government Missionary in 1820, and was joined by the Rev. W. R. Thompson, of the Church of Scotland, who arrived from Glasgow in November, 1821, being accompanied by Mr. Bennie, at that time a Catechist of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and subsequently ordained as one of its Missionaries. Mr. Brownlee selected the site of his Mission on a very suitable part of the Chumie River, and soon collected around him several families who had already been under the instruction of the late Mr. Williams. Thus, while the workman was dead and buried, God carried on His work by other agents. The excellent character and zealous, although brief, labours of Mr. Williams had produced an effect on the minds of many of the Ghika Kaffirs, which doubtless induced them to receive with less suspicion and prejudice the Missionaries who now successively entered the country. Mr. Brownlee was one of the writer's personal friends: he lived to a good old age, and died only a few years ago, having been permitted to celebrate the Jubilee of his Missionary toils after fifty years of consecrated labour in the Mission field. The representatives of five Missionary Societies joined to do him honour on that happy event. I saw him after he was confined to his bed, and only a short time before his departure; and found him peaceful and happy, relying on the merits of Christ for salvation. Mr.

Thompson is yet alive, upwards of eighty years old, but still vigorous. He was a worshipper in our Fort Beaufort chapel last Sabbath evening, when I preached. On the Monday morning we had some pleasant conversation about old times. He remembered very distinctly the first time that Mr. Shaw went to see them at the Chumie, in 1823; and how they *agreed* that no *differences of opinion*, &c., should be *brought before the heathen*; that they should preach the great truths of the Gospel, and let denominational distinctions lie in abeyance. The changes wrought since then have been so great as to be the subject of wonder, and, in many things, admiration and gratitude. These two worthies had braved the difficulties, the dangers, and the disasters of three terrible Kaffir wars; but, true to their principles, true to their Church, true to their God, they remained at their post, and now reap their reward.

The Rev. William Shaw did not enter Kaffirland until 1823. He took two preparatory journeys before removing his wife and family there, to take up their permanent abode. He had considerable difficulty with the Government in carrying out his views, arising out of the peculiar relations which existed between the colonists and the Kaffirs. Want of space does not admit of details being given, which can be obtained from his "*Story of my Mission*." When about to enter Kaffirland, Mr. Shaw was in a very perplexed and anxious state, on account of rumours of a Kaffir war on the one hand, and of the strong representations of his friends, dissuading him, on the other. In his perplexity he consulted his excellent wife, who gave the following noble reply: "You have long sought and prayed for this opening; Divine Providence has now evidently set the door open before us; expenses have been incurred in the purchase of outfit; you stand pledged to the Chiefs; and the character and conduct of the Kaffirs only show how much they need the Gospel. We shall be under Divine protection;" ending with these emphatic words, "*Let us go in the name of the Lord*." This wise and confident reply closed the matter, and every thing was done to enter upon and carry out the great enterprise. It is much to be regretted that a suitable memoir of this truly devoted woman has not

been prepared, and given to the colonists and to the world.

On the 13th day of November, 1823, they left Graham's Town; the party consisting of, (1.) Mr. Shaw and Mr. Shepstone, who rode on horseback. "(2.) My wife and Mrs. Shepstone, with their respective children; my wife's youngest being a babe about six weeks old. These were all placed together in one wagon, and were most uncomfortably crowded. The other wagon contained many heavy articles, with spades, pickaxes, and implements of various kinds. (3.) In the second wagon three or four native women with children, being domestics, or wives of our two wagon-drivers and interpreter. The drivers were Hottentots, and the interpreter was a young Kaffir, who had married a Hottentot wife." After some difficulties and disasters had been overcome, the start was made. Mr. Shaw remarks: "To many who reside on the frontier and in Kaffirland it will seem strange that what is at present regarded as an every-day occurrence, and a journey which excites no more apprehension among the colonists than a trip from London to Paris usually does in England, should have been regarded as so serious an undertaking. But at the period to which I am referring, (1823,) for Europeans to go with their wives and children among the Dhlambi tribes or coast country Kaffirs, was considered to be an almost certain course to destruction. The amazing difference which time and the changes produced by Missionary labour, commercial intercourse, and political events, now present in this respect, is only a part of the manifold evidence which is patent to all men, proving the steady progress and improvement which have taken place in that country."

On the 19th of November they arrived safely at the Mission Station of Messrs. Brownlee and Thompson, on the Chumie, and were received with great kindness and cordiality. They had surmounted herculean difficulties; but the God of Missions was their Protector and Defender, so that no evil had befallen them, and they were able to say. "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." After resting a short time, and partaking of the hospitality of their friends, they proceeded on their way. But, as an account of this part

of their journey is given in the chapter on Kama and his Mission, it is not needful to present it here, nor to detail the progress of the Mission at Wesleyville.

MOUNT COKE.—Wesleyville was only a stepping-stone or advanced post towards Mount Coke. This Station was placed among the Dhlambi tribe of Kaffirs, under Dhlambi and Dushane, as Wesleyville was under Pato, Kobus, and Kama. Mr. Shaw took preparatory journeys among the Dhlambies and other tribes before commencing the Mount Coke Station. When he had made his arrangements, we read, "About the end of July, 1825, Mr. Tainton, a British settler from Albany, who had been engaged as an assistant to the Missionary at Mount Coke, arrived with his family at Wesleyville. Here they remained for some time, making preparatory arrangements; and Mr. Tainton then proceeded to Mount Coke, to erect a dwelling for Mr. K. and family, who, after a few weeks, removed from Graham's Town, and commenced this Mission." Here, as in other places, there was much to try and discourage, from the darkness and gross superstition of the heathen; but in process of time a small Society was formed, which became the nucleus of a gradually increasing work. The labours of the Rev. Samuel Young, who followed Mr. K., were especially useful, and his influence among the Chiefs of the most favourable kind. The veteran still lives, and his children are growing up to the third generation; his grandsons at the Diamond Fields serving the God of their father, whilst his daughter is a member of the Church in this Circuit.

Mount Coke, like several other Kaffirland Stations, has gone through various vicissitudes, but has not passed away like Wesleyville. At the close of the war of 1835 it was removed to another site a few miles distant on the Buffalo River, but was subsequently moved back to its original site, where it has since remained. For many years the Mission press was kept at Mount Coke, and the late worthy Rev. W. J. Appleyard ably conducted the operations. In a very quiet way and with a very frail body he performed a vast amount of work. He was the man to give the first Bible to the Kaffir races in their own tongue. For many

years translations of different parts, made by different Missionaries, had been in circulation; but Mr. Appleyard had the labour and honour of first giving the entire Bible in the Kaffir language. He spent three or four years in England, carrying the whole through the press, either making new translations or correcting and altering old ones; so that this Bible must stand as a glorious monument to the zeal, the labour, and the scholarship of this indefatigable labourer in the vineyard of our Lord Jesus Christ. Another edition is being prepared by the united and combined labours of the Missionaries of other Societies in connexion with the Wesleyan: but this forms the basis upon which the emendations are being made. Since Mr. Appleyard's death the work has been carried on under the able management of the Rev. W. Holford. The press is now about to be removed to Graham's Town.

The spiritual work in this Circuit progressed only slowly, until a few years ago, when it began to put forth new life and vigour. A zealous Native Preacher was appointed to it, in addition to the English one, and subsequently another Native Minister; the staff now consisting of one English and two Native Missionaries, in addition to Local Preachers and Class Leaders.

The next Station formed was BUTTERWORTH, so named after the munificent benefactor of Wesleyan Missions, Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P. This Station was among the Amagcalekas, some distance beyond the Great Kei River. This was carrying out the design of William Shaw for a chain of Stations to Natal. The first link, to Mount Coke, was a short one; but the second, to Hintsä, was a long one. The "Story of my Mission" says: "The *third* Mission established by us was with the great Chief Hintsä, called the Amagcaleka tribe. My first interview with this Chief, as already stated, was in April, 1825. On our arrival we had an opportunity of surveying the 'royal residence.' It was situated amidst some singular rocks of trap stone, and commanded a view of a beautiful valley, comprising an extensive flat of rich alluvial soil, bounded by a meandering stream, called by the Kaffirs Gcuwa or

Ghoowa, which, flowing in a roundabout course, gives the valley a circular form."

The late devoted Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury was the Missionary selected to commence this new Station. He arrived at Wesleyville on the 24th of November, 1826. Mr. Shaw and he left Wesleyville on the 4th of December for this purpose, calling at Mount Coke to take Mr. K. with them. After a journey in which no small difficulties and dangers were encountered and overcome, they arrived in safety at the site of the new Mission. "After our arrival at Hintsa's residence, we had another conference with him. While the Chief did not express in any decisive terms his consent, yet he made no serious objection to the actual commencement of the Mission. Mr. Shrewsbury therefore resolved to remain; and I left him and Mrs. Shrewsbury on the site they had chosen, and returned to my family at Wesleyville. Thus was the Butterworth Station established, and shortly afterwards Mr. Shepstone removed from Wesleyville to assist Mr. Shrewsbury in the arduous work of commencing the Mission. Hintsa did not, however, formally recognise the Missionaries till some months afterwards, when, on August the 9th, 1827, with great Kaffir ceremony, he sent to the Station one of his brothers and a company of councillors, mostly old men, (councillors of Kauta, his father,) with the following remarkable message: 'Hintsa sends to you these men, that you may know them: they are now your friends: for to-day Hintsa adopts you into the same family, and makes the Mission the head of that house.'" This Station probably more than any other has suffered from the terrible ravages of the war. *Thrice* it has been destroyed, and *thrice* has it risen again from its ashes, and now rears its head as one of the most remarkable trophies of Missionary success. Some seven hundred persons, either actual members of the Church or candidates for membership, together with a host of workers,—as Class Leaders, Local Preachers, Day and Sabbath School Teachers, &c.,—attest the magnitude of the work. It was from this Station that the Fingoes were first emancipated from Kaffir bondage, in the war of 1835, by the British troops, under the care of the late Rev. John Ayliff;

and at a later period, under the care of the late Rev. F. P. Gladwin, a large number more made their escape. But now they are the occupants of the place from which they before fled for refuge into the Colony. Such are the changes which transpire in the order of Divine Providence, that the Kaffirs, their former task-masters, are now ejected; and of this Station, with the Tsomo Station and the Stations of Fingoeland, we may truly say, God has made those "a people who were not a people, and called those beloved who were not beloved."

The *fourth* Kaffirland Mission formed was MORLEY. The details of the difficulties in finding a road for wagons over the Umtata River, and of settling the dispute as to the site of the Mission among *three* contending chiefs, are graphically given by Mr. Shaw, in his "Story." It was at the District Meeting of 1829 that Mr. Shepstone was appointed to commence this fourth Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Shepstone were accompanied on this difficult enterprise by Mr. Robinson and his wife. Mr. Robinson was a young settler from Salem, of much piety and promise, and soon after his arrival was killed by the fall of a large tree which he was engaged in cutting down for the purpose of obtaining a supply of timber required in the erection of the Mission buildings. This was a mysterious and painful providence, but was permitted by that Being who cannot err, and who does not give account of His matters to any one. Mr. Shaw and Mr. Shrewsbury accompanied Mr. Shepstone, and assisted in making the arrangements and settling the questions in dispute. When this was done, writes Mr. Shaw, "the Mission was commenced with the Chief descended from the white woman. At my request it had been already decided by the District Meeting that when this new Station was commenced it should be named 'Morley,' in honour of my venerated friend, and the persevering patron of our Mission in South Eastern Africa, the Rev. George Morley, who was at this period one of the Secretaries of our Missionary Society, and under whose auspices, as Superintendent of the Leeds Circuit, the first regular Missionary Society in the Methodist Connexion was organized." This Station, like many others, passed through many changes; sometimes adverse and sometimes encouraging. It attained a

high degree of order and prosperity during the years in which the late Mr. S. Palmer conducted the operations. At a later period the courageous Rev. J. S. Thomas was killed here, while seeking to quell a tumult among the people, when the Mission village was attacked at night by contending foes. After remaining many years as a separate Station, it has at length been incorporated in the Clarkebury Station.

CLARKEBURY.—The *fifth* Mission established by our Society in Kaffraria was in the country of the Abatembu, under the Great Chief Vossanie, or, as he was often called by his people, Ngubincuka, “Wolf’s Cloak.” The Mission was commenced in April, 1830. Mr. Haddy was the first Missionary appointed to this Station; of whose introduction Mr. Shaw says, he was “accompanied by Messrs. Shepstone, Boyce, and Haddy, and introduced the latter to him [Vossanie] as his future Missionary. The Chief faithfully kept his word, and received Mr. Haddy with evident satisfaction, giving him leave to search the country, and find a place which would suit as the site for the proposed Mission. Mr. Haddy accordingly selected the spot on which was founded the Station called Clarkebury, in honour of Dr. Adam Clarke, the celebrated commentator, and the warm friend and advocate of Methodist Missions.” Clarkebury has continued until this day as an important Station among the Abatembu tribe. Clarkebury has also passed through various vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity; but it has now, under the long, careful, and successful labour of the Rev. P. Hargreaves, attained a high degree of prosperity. It numbers some six hundred members of Society, besides a large working staff. Some years ago a large chapel was built and paid for by the people; and last year one at the Cweclueni, which cost £350, an amount which was also raised by the people. In addition to these the last Report says, “At Clarkebury a boys’ boarding school is in course of erection. The building will cost £1,200, and accommodate fifty boarders. The people have raised £700 towards the building fund. The Government will aid in supporting the school. The Rev. J. E. Parsonson will take charge of the educational department of the institution.” The design

is that this school should be a preparatory school to the Heald Town Training Institution, so that youths instructed here may be able to avail themselves of the higher advantages of Heald Town in preparing to become Teachers or Preachers.

BUNTINGVILLE was the name given to the *sixth* Mission establishment in Kaffirland. This name was given in honour of the late Dr. Bunting, who for so many years occupied a prominent position in the Wesleyan Church, and aided so largely in consolidating and carrying out the Mission work. This Mission was established shortly after Clarkebury, and was placed among the Amapondo nation, under the great Chief Faku. The Rev. W. B. Boyce was the Missionary appointed to commence this Mission; of which Mr. Shaw says: "From a variety of causes Mr. Boyce was prevented from reaching the country of Faku till November 22nd, 1830, on which day, in company with Mr. Tainton, he arrived and commenced the Mission." Buntingville has remained a Station from that time to the present. It has not, like some others, been destroyed by war; neither has it on the other hand been favoured with that amount of prosperity which some others have. Local circumstances have not always been favourable; and then, being so far from the Colony, it has not been fed with the stream of persons converted in the Colony returning to it, and so strengthening it, as has been the case on many other Stations. Some time ago it was resolved to give it up, or at least to take away the European Missionary, which would in all probability have led to its being abandoned. But on a recent visit of the Rev. W. J. Davis to the Station he writes: "In the morning I conducted Divine worship in the chapel. The congregation was large. Among the worshippers were the two sons of Damas, the chief of the tribe, who had been deputed by their father to meet me on the Station. During the day there was a large gathering of the people of the tribe, and also of the people of the Station. It had been arranged at our District Meeting that their Missionary, Mr. Warner, should remove from Buntingville, and go and commence a new Mission further in the interior of the country. To this the chiefs and people strenu-

ously objected, and after a long discussion it was arranged that he should remain at Buntingville." We hope this may be the beginning of a brighter day for Buntingville, and that it may yet rise up to be a prosperous Station. It certainly is very undesirable that after so much labour and money have been expended upon it, it should cease to exist.

PALMERTON,—so named to perpetuate the memory of the Rev. Samuel Palmer, who was a very devoted and useful Missionary in this part of the Mission field for many years, being also Deputy Chairman of the Eastern Section of the Albany and Kaffraria District for some time. He was cut off suddenly in the midst of his days and labours by the anxieties and fatigues connected with the rescue of his brethren from danger during one of the wars which raged and threatened his destruction. The formation of the Palmerton Station was owing to the removal of Faku from Buntingville to another part of his country on the eastern side of the Umzimkulu. The Rev. Thomas Jenkins, who had been some time at Buntingville, was appointed to commence this Station, and for a while it greatly prospered under his indefatigable labours. He laboured not only for the spiritual welfare of the people, but also for their elevation in a temporal point of view: the Station became emphatically an oasis in the desert. He was also of unspeakable value to Faku and the Amapondos, as a wise and faithful adviser in their intercourse with the British Government. Faku was sometimes greatly tried by some grave mistakes on the part of certain Government officials; but by the advice and influence of his faithful Teacher he was preserved from all acts which might have brought him into collision with the British Government.

EMFUNDISWENI.—This Station arose out of the removal of the Chief Faku again, and was placed about thirty miles upwards from Palmerton. The Missionary, Mr. Jenkins, removed with him and began the new Station. A number of the members went with Mr. Jenkins; which greatly weakened Palmerton, and it has never fully recovered: so that there are now three Stations,—Buntingville, Palmerton, and Emfundisweni,—all of which are in a com-

paratively weak state. This is greatly to be regretted: it may be hoped that God will pour out the Holy Spirit upon them, so that the weak may be made strong and the small great. These Stations are in the very heart of Kaffirland, being on the border of the Natal Colony, to which district Palmerton and Emfundisweni now belong. The veteran Missionary Thomas Jenkins remained at his post until death removed him from his earthly toils and triumphs to the heavenly rest. His widow still survives, and continues to watch over the work so well begun by her late husband; remaining at Emfundisweni, and assisting both Missionary and people by her counsels, prayers, and example.

SHAWBURY.—This Station partially arose out of Buntingville. Of this Mr. Shaw writes: "Two important Missions have grown out of that established at Buntingville. One lies about seventy miles to the northward on the Tsitsa River, a noble stream and tributary of the Umzimvubu. This Mission was established among the people of Ncapaye, called Amabaca, who once occupied a country now included in the Natal Colony, but who had been driven out of it by the Amazulu. They proved at first very fierce and destructive neighbours to Vossanie and Faku; but after a great deal of marauding and fighting, carried on for many years, the Missionaries at Morley and Buntingville opened a communication with Ncapaye, that led to the establishment of a Mission, under circumstances of considerable privation and difficulty, by the Rev. W. H. Garner. The Missionaries named it 'Shawbury.' Various circumstances have combined, under the blessing of God, to render this Station one of the most populous and important in Kaffraria."

Mr. Garner was a genial man; and at a later period, when he was in more favourable circumstances, he told the writer with considerable zest that one night they were greatly alarmed by a lion prowling about the house and making a terrible roar, after which it advanced so near as to put its head over the top of their frail door and give a roar inside which was truly terrific. The inmates had then to hide away in the most secure places they could find, and there remain until this ferocious beast took his departure, which he afterwards did without seizing any of the



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inmates as his prey. Thus they had their dwelling far off in the wilderness in the midst of savage men and savage beasts; but the God of their lives, for whom they had sacrificed the peace, comfort, and security of Christian civilized life, took care that not a hair of their heads should be touched. Mr. Garner died some years ago in Graham's Town in the midst of his family and friends. His widow and part of his family now reside at Middle Drift, near Annshaw.

The Shawbury Station has continued to prosper until this day; and now, under the zealous labours of the Rev. W. S. Davis and his devoted wife, it has advanced to a position of great importance and large usefulness. The name of the chief is Umhlonhlo, who formerly was a fierce and savage heathen, but is now brought to some extent under the softening power of the Gospel. He and his people are being taken under the power of the British Government; and thus with the aid of Missionaries and Teachers there is every probability of the Station and people becoming abiding and highly prosperous.

I have thus in a consecutive manner followed the course of the Rev. W. Shaw, in his endeavour "to establish a chain of Missions from the Cape Colony to Natal." With the exception of Emfundisweni, all the above Stations were established during the stay of William Shaw in this country; and I have taken them in consecutive order rather than break the thread of the narrative in stating which of them now belong to the Queen's Town District.

The accompanying lithograph may fitly close this chapter on the Native work in the Graham's Town District. The last Native District Meeting was held in Graham's Town in the month of January, 1877. The picture represents the members of that Meeting. The principal figure in the centre is that of the venerable William Impey, Chairman of the District, who has been largely instrumental in inaugurating the Native Ministry in South Africa in connexion with the Wesleyan Church.

There are nineteen Native Preachers in the group, including two candidates who have just passed their examination in order to enter the Heald Town Institution for three years;

so that by receiving a theological training they may be the better fitted for the work of the Ministry. None enter the Institution as candidates for the Ministry who have not given satisfactory proof of their conversion to God and call to the Ministry.

Ten of the number are already ordained and received into the full work of the Ministry. They are, as a rule, earnest, faithful men; zealous for the Lord of Hosts, and successful in winning souls to Christ; and we trust that they are the first fruits of what will be a rich harvest,—that they are the leaders of what shall be a long succession of faithful Ministers of the Lord Jesus.

CHAPTER IV.

THE QUEEN'S TOWN DISTRICT.

UNTIL a few years ago what now constitutes the Queen's Town and Bechuana Districts was included in the Graham's Town District: but as the work enlarged, and the number of Missionaries and Mission Stations increased, it was found needful to form these two new Districts. In previous years both Kaffirland and Bechuanaland had been sections of the Graham's Town District, and Deputy Chairmen had conducted operations there under the supervision of the General Superintendent of Graham's Town: first, under the Rev. William Shaw; and afterwards, under the Rev. William Impey. But when the District became too great for this mode of government, two new Districts were formed,—one for Kaffirland proper, with Queen's Town for its head; and one for Bechuanaland, with Bloem Fontein in the Free State as the centre of operation; each being independent, having its own Chairman and General Superintendent, who was responsible only to the Missionary Committee in England for his District.

Queen's Town is now a colonial town, on the borders of Kaffirland, which has grown into considerable importance since the Kaffir war of 1852. The site of the town, and the country which constitutes the District, was formerly in the possession of the Tembookie Kaffirs, and was taken from them at the close of the last Kaffir war. All the Wesleyan Mission Stations in Kaffirland proper belong to this District; the Chairman residing in Queen's Town, and the District Meetings being held there. The following Stations, of which an account is given in the last chapter, are in this District: Butterworth, Clarkebury, Morley, Buntingville, and Shawbury. The following are the names of all the Circuits in this District: Queen's Town, Dordrecht and Stormburg, Kamastone, Lesseyton, Mount Arthur, Wode-

house Forests, Tsomo, Butterworth, Clarkebury and Morley, Buntingville, Shawbury, and Osborn. Having already given the history of Buntingville, Butterworth, Morley, Clarkebury, and Shawbury, these need not again be brought under consideration.

QUEEN'S TOWN.—As already stated, Queen's Town is an important district town. Its growth has been very rapid, arising from its central situation, being about one hundred and fifty miles from the port of East London, to which it will be united by rail shortly, the works being already in progress. From its central situation it is a depôt for Upper Kaffirland and the regions northward, reaching up to the Diamond Fields. Methodism is in a vigorous state in this town: having been established there when the town was first formed, it has grown with its growth, and is thoroughly incorporated into its religious life. The writer spent three years in Queen's Town some time ago, and the present English chapel was erected during his ministerial labours there. The present staff, according to the "Minutes" of last Conference, is, the Rev. William S. Dewstoe, H. H. Dugmore, J. E. Parsonson, and an Evangelist. The Rev. H. H. Dugmore is not, however, on the regular ministerial staff. There is a Kaffir Native cause under the care of an Evangelist.

LESSEYTON is the place where the Collegiate School is established; the Rev. Theophilus Chubb, B.A., being Governor and Head Master. This is situated in a beautiful valley about seven miles from Queen's Town. There is also a Native Circuit connected with it, of which Johannes Mahonga, Native Minister, is in charge.

KAMASTONE is about twenty miles from Queen's Town in the direction of the Kat River. As stated in the chapter on Kama and his Mission, this Station arose originally out of Kama and his people being located there. The late venerable W. Shepstone was the first Missionary in charge of it; hence the appellation, Kama-Stone, given in order to perpetuate the name of both the Chief and the Missionary. After the removal of Kama and his people the Station was continued under the fostering care of Mr. Shepstone as a Fingoe Station. Mr. Shepstone remained

here to the end of his days, a venerable old man, respected and esteemed by all. The Station has continued to prosper, so that there are at present some four hundred members. The 1875 Conference appointments are, the Rev. William J. Davis, (Queen's Town,) Rev. Charles Pamla, (Native Minister,) one Evangelist. This Station is placed in the centre of a large European population, and will well repay all the ministerial care that can be devoted to it.

DORDRECHT.—This rising town is situated about sixty miles to the north-east of Queen's Town. It has sprung into existence within a few years, being located along the Stormberg range of mountains, skirting the upper part of Tembookieland. It has a magistrate, and a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. The writer of these pages was the first English Minister to visit and preach in Dordrecht and the surrounding country, which he visited once a month when he was stationed in Queen's Town. It was afterwards taken up, and a Wesleyan Minister was appointed there. A chapel and Mission-house were built during the Ministry of the Rev. Zadok Robinson; but the place was afterwards given up, and the chapel sold. This was greatly to be regretted, as this is the district town of the new division of Wodehouse, and from its central position must be of permanent importance. There are not many Wesleyans in the town, but these would increase in time, whilst the Wesleyan families in the district are considerable. It is said that the place is to be taken up again shortly. There is an Evangelist appointed in the "Minutes," but he will doubtless be for the natives.

MOUNT ARTHUR lies about twenty miles to the eastward of Queen's Town. The name was given to it in honour of the Rev. William Arthur, one of the Missionary Secretaries, whose praise is in all the Churches, and therefore needs no eulogistic note from the writer. The mountain near to which the Station is established is a peculiar one, being bold and grand in its peculiarity. When I was in the Queen's Town Circuit, this place, and also Glen Grey, the residence of the late J. Warner, Esq., belonged to that Circuit, and were visited periodically by me. Mr. Wakeford, an aged Catechist, resided on the Station at the time.

I admitted many persons into Society by baptism, and the Station has continued to prosper. The Rev. Ebenezer Warner is now the Missionary, aided by four Evangelists and a goodly number of Local Preachers and Class Leaders. This Circuit has been greatly strengthened by members who removed thither from various Circuits in the Colony ; and a good work is being carried on.

WODEHOUSE FORESTS.—This Station is also one of comparatively recent formation. It is about fifty miles from Queen's Town, lying more to the southward than Mount Arthur. It is situated among the Abatembu Kaffirs, and is to a great extent the outgrowth of the good work begun at Glen Grey some years before. Many of the people from thence removed to the neighbourhood of the present Station, and have thus been the nucleus of the present regularly formed and consolidated Station. The Rev. William Hunter is the Missionary appointed to this Station, and is assisted by Charles Lewana, Native Minister, and three Evangelists. Mr. Hunter has been on a visit to England for the renovation of his health, and has returned after a short stay in the fatherland.

Tsomo (Fingoe Mission).—This is one day's ride from Wodehouse Forests Station in a southerly direction on the way to Butterworth. The name is taken from the river Tsomo, on which it is situated. This is a Fingoe Station, and owes its origin to a large tract of country being given by the Government to the Fingoes who were disposed to migrate from various parts of the Colony along the frontier, when they had become overcrowded. A large number availed themselves of this offer and took possession of this country ; among them many who were members of the Church ; from Fort Beaufort, Heald Town, Annshaw, Mount Coke, Peddie, and other places. Hence, instead of the slow progress which used to be made in former times, when a Station had to be gathered from among the raw heathen, this and others quickly rose to considerable magnitude : there being already about six hundred members, the work has been carried on with much energy and success. The Rev. James S. Morris is at the head of this Mission, assisted by two Evan-

gelists. Mr. Morris is a young man recently taken into the Mission work from the Colony,—a son of one of the settlers, who resides in Alice. He has displayed considerable energy, tact, and perseverance in the erection of a new chapel, which was recently opened with great *éclat*. The Rev. William J. Davis, who took part in the services, informs us that “on the Wednesday there was a large assembly of natives, and also a goodly number of Europeans, who had come together to the opening of the new chapel. The natives had come from Wodehouse Forests, from Butterworth, from Clarkebury, from the Idutywa Reserve, and from every part of Fingoeland. These places varied from fifteen to forty miles’ distance from the Tsomo. There were also present the Rev. R. Ross, of the Scotch Church Mission, Captain Blyth, the Government Resident in Fingoeland, and H. H. Gwynne, Esq., Government Resident with a branch of the Tembookie nation.

“Numerous as the gathering was, the occasion on which they had come was worthy of such a gathering. The chapel opened that day for the worship of Jehovah is the largest and best finished native place of worship dedicated to Divine worship east of the colonial boundary. It is seventy feet by twenty, built of dressed stone, slated throughout, and neatly and, for a native chapel, beautifully finished in all its internal fittings. The building has cost £900, the half of which was unprovided for on the morning of its dedication. The opening services began by the reading of the Wesleyan Liturgy, the chanting of the *Te Deum* by the native choir, and a sermon. Afterwards a public Meeting was held, at which addresses were given; each speaker ending by stating the sum he would contribute. There were about fifty speeches made; and as the speaker ended he not only *announced* his subscription, but *paid* it in gold and silver, until plate after plate was filled and emptied, and refilled repeatedly, *until the debt was paid, and some good sum contributed beyond its amount*. On that day more than £450 was raised, in addition to £450 previously raised, and the chapel on the day of opening was free from debt.”

Truly we may exclaim, “What hath God wrought!” In

order to comprehend this liberal and gratifying result fully, the careful reader should keep in mind the fact that only some forty years have elapsed since these Fingoes were rescued from Kaffir bondage by being brought from Butterworth into the Colony by the British troops, accompanied by their Missionary, the Rev. John Ayliff, and at a later period a large number more by the Rev. F. P. Gladwin. These were the refugees from the Amazulu slaughter, when Utshaka and Udingaan swept as a tempest of blood and death over the fair plains and beautiful rivers of Natal, as detailed in my former works, "The History of Natal," and "The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races."

OSBORN.—This is the only Station that remains to be chronicled in this District. The name was given to it in honour of Dr. Osborn, who for many years was one of the Missionary Secretaries, and at present holds the highest office in the College of Richmond in the preparation of Missionary candidates for labour in the Missionfield. This Station as to locality stands next to Shawbury, described in the preceding chapter. It is higher up on the Tina River and the nearest to Griqualand East, being in the heart of Kaffirland among the various tribes. The Rev. Charles White is the Missionary on this Station, assisted by one Evangelist. This Station was formed at a much later period than Buntingville, Palmerton, and Emfundisweni; but it has already far surpassed them in the number of its Church members and in general prosperity. This part of the country is now undergoing very great changes politically, as Adam Kok has just died, and his country will come directly under British control; also, different surrounding tribes have given in their adhesion to British rule. Hence a new order of things will be established: instead of small and petty tribes being engaged in bitter feuds and wanton reprisals, they will be held in restraint by a stronger power, and their quarrels be settled by those who will be in a position to deal out even-handed justice and punish evil-doers. Nothing will so effectually tend to the prosperity of Missions as the restoration of order and punishing of crime.

Our history of Wesleyan Kaffirland Missions must close

with the following particulars, which are taken from the Report of the District Meeting recently held in Queen's Town: "The Reports from several of the Kaffirland Circuits were very encouraging. Large numbers have professed to come under the power of the Gospel. There is an increase of 141 full members, and 343 on trial for membership. There are in the District 3,947 full and accredited Church members, and 2,057 candidates for Church membership.

"During the year a well built chapel has been opened, free of debt, at the Tsomo, costing £800, (to £900,) almost all raised by natives themselves. In the Clarkebury Circuit at the Cweclueni, also, a well built chapel, costing £350, and paid for by those who are to benefit by it, has been opened. Among the European farmers on the Umtata (Gangelizwe's country) a chapel costing £200 stands ready for opening.

"Independently of those Circuits which support their own Ministers, viz., Queen's Town and Kamastone, there has been raised in the District towards the support of the Ministry £803. 12s. 10d. For chapel and school building, £2,596. Missionary subscriptions, £783. 18s. 6d. For day schools, more than £500; making a total from native sources of £4,683. 11s. 4d. for the year.

"A Native Girls' Boarding School at Shawbury, to accommodate twenty boarders, is ready to be opened. The buildings have cost about £200, raised entirely by Mrs. W. S. Davis. The Government will partly support this Institution, but the chief burden will fall on the lady who started it.

"At Clarkebury a Boys' Boarding School is in course of erection. The building will cost £1,200, and accommodate fifty boarders. The people have raised £700 towards the building fund. The Government will aid in supporting the school. The Rev. J. E. Parsonson will take charge of the educational department of the institution."

According to this return this District, which was separated from Graham's Town in 1861, has more than trebled the number of its members in eleven years. The number of Church members in 1864 was 1,257; the number in 1875, as above given, is 3,947: being a net increase of 2,690.

This increase, as before stated, is not wholly the actual increase from the District itself, as large numbers have gone in from the border Stations; but it is a fact nevertheless, and the Stations in the interior have been spiritual homes into which these children of the colonial Churches have entered. Neither is this all; for many have removed from border Stations to localities where there have been no Wesleyan Stations, but Stations of other Churches, to which these members have joined themselves. The writer has given many certificates of membership to members thus removing. I mention these things not to make out a strong or good case,—this is not needful,—but to give a true and complete record of facts. These facts prove also how mighty an influence for good has thus been incorporated among the thousands of Kaffirland proper from the Colony, and how wise has been the course of action inaugurated by Mr. Shaw, and carried on by his coadjutors and successors. “To God be all the praise!”

The reader may distinctly observe that what has been written relates solely to Wesleyan Missions, and must not on any wise be supposed to indicate all that is being done for the instruction, elevation, and salvation of the Kaffir races. There are other Churches that have extensive and prosperous Missions. Among these must be named the Free Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian, the Berlin Society, the Episcopal Church, the London Missionary Society; all of which have important Missions, carried on with much zeal and ability; some of them on an extensive scale and with a good amount of success. The subject of Education is reserved for a separate chapter. From what has been written it will be evident to every thoughtful person that a very large amount of Missionary effort is being devoted to the Christianization of the Kaffir races. Only let the Lord the Spirit descend upon the means so extensively used, and then we may hope to see glorious results.

One fact which will have an important bearing upon the success of Missions in Kaffirland is, that now a very large portion is being brought under British rule. In my “Past and Future of the Kaffir Races” the following quotation is

found, on the subject of Kaffirland proper, between the Kei and Umzimvubu Rivers, being absorbed by the Cape and Natal Colonies: "This appears to some a painful consummation, and one against which the heart of humanity and philanthropy protests; but in vain, the two Colonies will ultimately join. It will take place: either peacefully, by the gentle extension of British rule; or violently, amidst the storms and revolutions and calamities of war. These two Colonies will join; and Kaffirland, as a separate independent Kaffir territory, will exist no more. You may attempt to dam up the river, or arrest the flood-tide in its rush, but in vain; nature urges on its resistless course, until the increasing momentum bursts every barrier, and rushes on to the goal. So here, legislators, editors, and philanthropists may do what they please, and say what they like, to prevent this result; but the whole will be of no avail, and this will become an accomplished fact. The stream of colonization will go on, and overspread Kaffirland; and he is the true philanthropist who would seek so to guide and control it as to make it fertilizing to European and Kaffir alike." (Pages 387, 388.) When these words were penned, the writer was not at all prepared to expect that in so short a space of time as that which has since elapsed, changes so great in themselves and so extensive in their range would have taken place. Happily for Kaffirland and the Kaffirs Sir Henry Barkly, the Governor and High Commissioner, has taken a just and comprehensive view of these matters. He has appeared to have a defined plan in his own mind, much in accordance with what is indicated in the book from which the quotation is made, and has availed himself of every opportunity of "extending British rule;" not "violently amidst the storms, and revolutions, and calamities of war," but "peacefully, by the gentle extension of British rule." The times have been favourable, the events which have transpired momentous; and instead of a weak and vacillating policy on the part of the Governor, when the opportunity has occurred, he has stepped in just at the right time, and to a great extent in the right way, and has thus secured his object almost without appearing so to do, and before many have been aware how much

was involved in what was done, or had time to thwart his plans, or create and organize opposition. In this manner the large territory of Griqualand East has been brought under British rule: another large tract of country in the region of the Gutberg, embracing some seven petty tribes, has been brought under British control; whilst still more recently the large tribe of the Abatembu under Gangalizwe has submitted to British rule, and placed itself under British protection. Before this, a large tract of country, called "the Reserve," was held by the Governor; and the extensive tract called "Fingoeland" was subject to British authority; so that in reality there is now only little left that is not subject to the British crown.

In all these places a British Resident is placed, who is paramount. As these great changes have taken place without the shock of war, so the chiefs and head men have not been removed by violence from their position, but are still subsidized by the officers of Her Majesty's Government, and may in this way be employed in a useful manner among their people. So the different and often opposing tribes will be brought under control, and not be allowed to go to war with each other upon every petty offence or outburst of jealousy or anger, and gradually the arts of peace and improvement will be introduced among them. The worst of their vile and cruel customs should be suppressed; and, above all, the terrible scourge, "Cape brandy," should not be allowed to be introduced among them. Adam Kok, that able and good Chief, had almost stamped out this fell destroyer from Griqualand East before his death. He saw that, if allowed among them, it would effect their ruin, and therefore he adopted stringent measures to suppress it. This course should be carefully persisted in. Captain Blythe, the Resident with the Fingoes, has been remarkably successful in his management of the people in this respect. He has not attempted to eject ardent spirits and prevent drinking habits by violence: but he has got the wisest and best men to see the magnitude of the evil with its threatening consequences, and to induce them to put it away, which they did under his guidance, aided by his clerk, Mr. Levey: so that the monster has been to a great extent driven out

of Fingoeland. Let others go and do likewise. If the various British Residents and Magistrates throughout Kaffirland would carefully and firmly seek to put down such heathen customs as are cruel, sensual, and opposed to public order and decency, they would confer unspeakable benefits upon the people, and greatly assist in preparing the way for their religious and social improvement. Missionaries do not desire them to attempt the religious part of their improvement, but simply to help in clearing the way by which Missions, having a fair share of countenance and support, may pursue their course with comfort and a much larger amount of success than would otherwise be possible. If these methods are adopted and carried out, the united efforts of her Magistrates, officers, and Christian Missionaries, under the blessing of God, will in the space of a few years effect a wonderful change for the better in the temporal and spiritual state of the Kaffir races.

The probability is that, before many years have passed away, the remaining tribes of Kaffirland will have given in their adhesion to the British Government, and the whole land be annexed to the British Crown. The Galecas and the Amampondos are the only two remaining tribes of importance that are left, and in process of time they also will find it for their advantage to follow the steps of those who have given in their adhesion before; and thus the whole tract of country from Cape Colony to Natal will be British territory. This is a consummation greatly to be desired. The great object, then, to be secured by the Colonial and Imperial Government should be to see that these lands are permanently secured to the parties to whom they rightfully belong. This should be done by *collective title* until they are far enough advanced to be entrusted with *personal title*. The title should be made out in *legal form*, and placed in safe custody, and sacredly kept for the parties concerned. Happily this was done for Kama and his people; so that when the Government was about to take away a part of his location without consulting him, the writer fortunately had in charge the title which was executed by Sir George Grey; and this being a legal document, the Government was under the necessity

of recalling the surveyor whom they had sent ; and thus this loyal and worthy Chief was saved from the bitterness of having his land taken from him just before he dropped into the grave. It may be said that the Government will not alienate lands once given. No, not while there is no pressure ; but let the pressure come, and then the Government will do it, unless prevented by *certain title*. The Government is no one personally ; that is, no one is personally responsible ; and therefore things can be done without risk or odium by the joint action of a small executive, which one person in his individual capacity would repudiate. Besides this, if we are acting a fair honest part to these people, why should we shrink from giving them *security* ? Nay, if we are true Britons as well as genuine Christian men, why should we not make it a part of our duty to secure to them the permanent possession of the soil upon which they have lived, and their fathers before them ? All the instincts and principles of an honest manly nature would say, Let this be done by all means ; let it be done in the right and best way ; let it be done at the *right time* ; and thus let the subject be set at rest for ever ; and let them feel secure : so that they may pursue the arts of peace without fear or jealousy, and Christian Missionaries and Teachers may proceed in their noble Christian work without the fear of having their labours interrupted or their successes scattered.

In writing thus, I do not plead that there shall not be suitable localities reserved for European towns, and unoccupied parts of the country reserved by Government for such purposes as may seem desirable. But it must be borne in mind that the land is fast filling up. I am credibly informed that Fingoeland is already full ; and native people from all sides are pressing into the vacant spaces as population increases.

The Missionary appointments for 1876 for this District are :

QUEEN'S TOWN : William S. Dewstoe, H. H. Dugmore ; one Evangelist.

LESSEYTON : Theophilus Chubb, B.A., Governor and Head



JOHANNES MAHONGA, KAFFIR MINISTER.

Master of the Colonial School; Johannes Mahonga,
Native Missionary; one Evangelist.

DORDRECHT AND STORMBERG: One wanted.

HILTON AND WHITTLESEA: W. D. Jones.

KAMASTONE AND TARKASTADT: William Shaw Davis; one
Evangelist.

MOUNT ARTHUR: Ebenezer J. Warner; four Evangelists.

WODEHOUSE FORESTS: Henry B. Warner; three Evan-
gelists.

Tsomo: James S. Morris, Assistant Missionary; three
Evangelists.

BUTTERWORTH: Edward J. Barrett; Charles Lewana,
Native Missionary; eight Evangelists.

CLARKEBURY AND MORLEY: Peter Hargreaves; William
Segenu, Native Missionary; eight Evangelists.

BUNTINGVILLE: John H. Scott; one Evangelist.

SHAWBURY: Richard Hayes; two Evangelists.

OSBORN: Charles White; one Evangelist.

GATEBERG, &c.: Charles Pamla, Native Missionary.

W. J. Davis and William Hunter are proceeding to
England.

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIAN CHIEF KAMA : HIS MISSION AND HIS TRIBE.

STUDIED brevity has been adopted in the chapters giving a record of Wesleyan Missions in South Africa : but it is my purpose to give a more extended history of the Christian Chief Kama, his Mission, and his tribe ; in doing which I have not only the information acquired from other sources, but my own observation and experience. During a course of Missionary labour in South Africa, extending over a period of *thirty-six years*, I have spent only six years on Missionary Stations ; two of these, more than a quarter of a century ago, at the Beka, near Fort Peddie, being mostly with Pato, the elder brother of Kama, and his tribe ; the other four, with Kama and his people, being the last four years of my labours in this country, having only removed from Annshaw to Fort Beaufort a few months ago (1875). I therefore purpose collecting the different fragmentary materials, which, being combined with my own personal knowledge, will give a connected and complete account of the whole ; doing this as briefly as possible, though the information in my possession is quite sufficient to compose a small volume. This is the more needful inasmuch as Kama is the first, and indeed the only Kaffir Chief who has embraced Christianity, and continued in a consistent Christian course through the long period of *half a century*.

The introduction of the Gospel among the Amagqunukwebi tribe was an epoch in the history of the Kaffir races. How many ages the Kaffirs had occupied Kaffirland we cannot tell : the tables in my former work on the "Kaffir Races" give the nearest approximation that has been obtained. As to their dense spiritual darkness, their enslaving superstitions, their revolting vices, and their horrid cruelties, the same book gives what has been re-

garded as almost too full an account. But however this may be, more than half has not been told ; some things being omitted altogether, and others so far modified as to enable the ordinary reader to peruse the whole with interest, and without the extreme disgust which a full delineation would have produced.

When William Shaw and his fellow Missionary workers entered Kafirland, they found Pato, Kobi, and Kama, with their people, occupying the coast line of the hills and valleys reaching along the country between the Fish and the Buffalo Rivers on a small stream called the Twecu ; the people never before having been brought into contact with religious teaching or under civilizing influences, being heathens pure and simple. But now a change is commenced ; the black man and the white have to look each other in the face ; a pure Christianity has to confront impure orgies ; barbarism has to be brought into contact with civilization, and the trial betwixt directly opposing moral and spiritual influences and practices has to be made. The power of the Gospel has to be put upon its trial against the most inveterate heathenism ; and the result is to determine whether sin or holiness, Satan or God, is to achieve the victory. The following record professes to give an account of the processes carried on, with their results ; and the impartial reader must say whether the experiment has been a successful one or not.

It must be noted that this was the first Mission which the late William Shaw, with his honoured coadjutors, commenced. *Wesleyville* was the first spot on which they “ sat down.” Here the standard of the cross was first raised ; here the first Gospel lessons were imparted, the first Gospel invitations given ; here the first souls were drawn to Christ, and the first triumphs of the cross achieved ; here the first Kaffir converts were received into the holy Catholic Church, being baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. It was here that the first house of worship was erected as a witness to the God of heaven, and praise and a pure offering ascended before His throne. For ages many the rippling river, the green foliage on the ascending slopes, and the towering forest trees

in the adjacent kloofs, had trembled and quivered amid the warriors' loud song, and the dying wail of the victims of a cruel superstition. But now the scene is changed; the high praises of God are sung, and the ambassadors of a true Gospel are heard calling upon heathen men to fall at the feet of the "Prince of peace," and join with others in crowning Him "Lord of all." These considerations enhance the value of "The Story of my Mission," and throw special interest around the following unadorned records, whilst they establish their claim for a permanent place in the history of South African Missions.

Concerning the origin of the people of whom I now write I will quote the words of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, as given in my "History of the Kaffir Races :—"

"There is yet one tribe, the origin of which remains to be noticed, and that is the Amagqunukwebi, the tribe of Pato Kobi and Kama. In point of numbers, this tribe is superior to several of those already spoken of. Its Chiefs are, however, deemed inferior to the rest, as not belonging to the same family,—as being, indeed, the descendants of a man who was raised from amongst the common people, and invested with the rank and authority of a chief by Tshiwo.

"There is something of romance in the history of this man, as it has been preserved in the traditions of the tribe which he founded. It is probable that the facts of the case have been somewhat *adorned* in the course of transmission: the following, however, is the result of a comparison of accounts.

"Kwane was a councillor of Tshiwo, and a man very popular with the tribe at large. He was also a great favourite with his Chief, and was employed by him on most matters of importance. There was another councillor, of great influence with the Chief, but a man of a very different character. Amongst the 'matters of state' of which these two *ministers* had the direction, was the execution of frequent sentences against the victims of accusations of witchcraft. These sentences, involving not merely the confiscation of the cattle, but also the massacre of the parties involved, were carried relentlessly into effect, whenever the second of the councillors above mentioned had the manage-

ment of the proceedings. Kwane, on the contrary, systematically spared life ; and, leaving them a few head of cattle to subsist upon, connived at the escape of the accused and their families to the mountain region towards the Orange River. His own great influence, and the popular character of the proceeding, enabled him to continue it for several years. At length a quarrel with the other councillor threatened him with the consequences of exposure, on which he adopted the bold resolution of assembling his mountaineers, (now an imposing-looking band,) appearing at their head at the *umzi wakuomkulu*, avowing what he had done, and putting it to the old Chief whether he had not better served his interests by preserving the men alive, than he would have done by putting them to death. He did so ; and the measure was perfectly successful. Tshiwo, instead of punishing Kwane, constituted the people he had saved a distinct tribe, and invested him with the chieftainship of it. His insignia of rank consisted of a milksack, a selection from the Chief's milking cows to replenish it with, and an allotment of blue crane's wings for war plumes for his bravest warriors. These, bestowed by the hand of Tshiwo, served instead of the ribbons, stars, and garters, as eagerly sought for, though perhaps not more highly prized, in a higher state of society.

“The tribe of Kwane is the present tribe of Pato. Its fortunes have been various ; but at the commencement of the present war it far exceeded in numbers several of the other tribes, whose chiefs had long looked down upon it with the contempt which the imaginary superiority of blood inspires.” (HOLDEN'S “Past and Future of the Kaffir Races,” pp. 156, 157.)

This is the most authentic account of the origin of the tribe we possess. As will be seen in the course of the narrative, that which constituted the tribe of Pato when Mr. Dugmore wrote, has passed away : the tribe of Kama, the one of which these notices treat, has been gathered out of the fragments, and has taken its permanent form.

Before Mr. Shaw opened this Mission, he first wisely made a tour of inspection, an account of which is given in his own “Story.” In the latter end of July, 1823, accom-

panied by Mr. Shepstone and Tsatzoe, he arrived at the residence of the Chief Pato.

“On our arrival we were told to unsaddle our horses, and then the spokesman for the occasion asked us the invariable questions put by Kaffirs to strangers on their arrival at a Kaffir kraal: ‘Who are you? Where do you come from? Where are you going? What do you seek or want? What is the news?’ These questions are generally asked, even when the querists already possess all the information you are prepared to give on these several points. After this ‘preliminary examination’ had been conducted with that peculiarly stiff manner and assumed air of dignity, which, as we often afterwards experienced, is so characteristic of the native Chiefs on such occasions; all formality was abandoned, and we were received by the Chief and his brothers, Kobi (Congo) and Kama, with evident pleasure and good will.” (“Story of my Mission,” pp. 341, 342.)

This was the first interview of Mr. Shaw and his friends with these Chiefs, and the first instance in which the name of Kama is brought out in connexion with the opening Mission. The application of the Missionaries to commence the Mission was successful, being given with all the ceremony of Kaffir custom, as recorded in the “Story.” As the record of Mr. Shaw’s preparations to enter Kaffirland personally, with his fellow labourers and their wives and families, is given elsewhere, it is not needful to detain the reader with it in this place; but we will take up the thread of the narrative from the arrival of the party at the Mission Station of the Rev. Messrs. Brownlee and Thomson at the Chumie. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. Shepstone, and their families, together with a number of natives. They arrived at the Chumie Station on the 20th of November, 1823; and on December 1st they proceeded on their journey, arriving at their destined place on the 5th.

The “Story” records: “We had to make a road for the wagons from Chumie to this place; in doing which many a tree fell before the hatchets of the Kaffirs who accompanied us, and who, including several that had followed

us from Chumie, amounted to between twenty and thirty in number. The road was intersected by a great number of streams that run from the mountains in the north into the Keiskamma; fords over these had to be discovered and rendered passable, &c., in all which we found the Kaffirs very useful: the only remuneration they expected or received was presents of beads."

"We were received on our arrival here by Pato and his brothers, Kobi (Congo) and Kama, with a great number of their people, as though we had been making a triumphal entry: all was bustle; and, as is usual when many wild, untutored people are assembled together, all was noise and clamour; everything around us was wonderful, and excited the greatest astonishment: our wagons, our wives, our children, all were examined with attention, and appeared to make the spectators wonderfully loquacious. Our wagons were drawn up under the shade of one of the beautiful yellow-wood trees that grow along the side of the river: here we outspanned (unyoked) the oxen, pitched our tent, and praised God for having brought us in safety to the place where we would be."

The first introduction of Kama to the civilized Christian subjects of Great Britain in the Colony, is thus recorded by Mr. Shaw: (pp. 384-5:) "On my first visit to the Colony," in February, 1824, "I took with me the young Kaffir Chief Kama, and two or three of his attendants. It was a great proof of his confidence, that he was willing to go with me; and his people consented with reluctance; but they were ashamed to express their apprehensions, since I was leaving my wife and children among them. No Kaffir Chief had, however, visited the Colony for many years; and in no instance had a Chief visited it since the arrival of the British settlers. Hence the event created considerable interest on both sides of the frontier. Kama was received by the British in Graham's Town, both civil and military, with great kindness. Many presents of clothing and other articles were given to the Chief by various friends; and, besides some clothes, the Commandant sent to Kobi, (Congo,) by Kama, a present of a horse. The young Chief attended Divine worship in the

English chapels at Graham's Town and Salem; and he witnessed, on these occasions, the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. At one of these services, although not understanding our language, he had been seized with an apparently irresistible emotion, and shed 'floods of tears.' After our return to Wesleyville, and on attending public worship a day or two afterwards in our sylvan chapel, when Divine service was concluded, he narrated the various circumstances connected with his visit to the Colony; speaking in high terms of the kindness and hospitality of the English, and describing the seriousness and solemnity which he had observed in their religious assemblies, showing that they considered God's worship to be a work of great importance. His statements excited no small interest."

About this time an event occurred which brought out the character of Kama as a Kaffir warrior; and though it was not a question of war on a large scale, yet there was quite enough to show of what metal he was made. He has been represented as a man of a gentle spirit, but as having nothing of the daring or the dash of a Kaffir warrior; and the inference has been offered, that therefore his conversion was no great triumph of the Gospel after all. Truly, he was a man of a mild and gentle spirit; but, at the same time, one of strong convictions and fearless courage; prompt in action, and bold in the battle-field; as the following quotation will show. A neighbouring clan having avowed their intention of attacking Kama and his people,—“One day, while Kama and some of his men were lying on the ground and chatting together near where I was standing, a man shouted the war cry from a neighbouring hill, and instantly the whole party, with many others on the place at the time, seized their weapons and rushed off at a very high speed. Presently, on the heights opposite the Station, we saw a strong party of the hostile clan approaching with shields, spears, and warlike head-dresses. Kama and his men rapidly obtained from his kraal similar appliances, and set off to meet their enemy. In a very short time they confronted each other. Kama inquired what was the meaning of an armed force

like that coming into his country. He was answered by an assagay or javelin, hurled at him by the Chief of the opposite party. Instantly, the whole were engaged. The conflict, however, did not last long. They had no fire-arms, but fought exclusively with their assagays. The attacking party soon found that they had undertaken more than they could accomplish. Kama's people were also rapidly increasing, numbers coming to his help from all sides. The enemy, finding himself likely to be surrounded, scattered and fled into the nearest bush and deep ravines, and thus escaped total destruction; leaving, however, three men killed on the spot. A considerable number were wounded also on both sides." ("Story of my Mission," pp. 388-9.)

Here then, on the show of danger, there is no weakness, no pusillanimity, no waiting until he could get an army together and prepare for a regular combat with the foe; but instant, bold, fearless action; calling together the men at hand, engaging in the conflict, and routing the enemy. The same fearless courage was manifested in the subsequent wars of the colonists against the Kaffirs, in three of which Kama and his people were bravely engaged.

The time had now arrived when Kama began to feel the necessity of taking a more decided position on the side of Christianity. Serious thoughts took possession of his mind, and powerful emotions moved the depths of his soul. As before narrated, when on his first visit to Graham's Town, in Divine worship he felt a mysterious unseen Hand upon him, and gave expression to his deep feeling in tears. A Kaffir does not weep for nothing; as a rule he is by no means demonstrative; and only when moved by powerful convictions does he allow his emotion to appear. Nay, often he is under deep conviction and engaged in secret prayer for some time before he fully declares himself "on the Lord's side." But the obstacles in Kama's way were of no ordinary kind. For a nation to cast away her gods in the person of her King, is an action which goes down to the foundations of the heathen fabric, which has been ages in constructing, and has become hoary with time. And to displace a system of deep-rooted superstition and sensual

gratification, for the holy religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, is to achieve a glorious triumph. Besides this, Kama was a young Chief with brightening prospects opening before him; and to become a Christian involved the possibility of his being cast off by the nation, and being reduced to the position of a wandering fugitive on the face of the earth.

But, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which beset his path, he resolved upon decided action. He embraced Christ and His Gospel, and took up his position on the side of the Church. He with his wife joined the small Class, which had just been formed by Mr. Shaw as the first Methodist Class in Kaffirland; and, under date of August 19th, 1825, we have the following: "Amongst the natives I baptized at Wesleyville, were the Chief Kama and his wife. The latter is the daughter of the great Chief Gaika, and sister of Makomo, the noted leader in the late Kaffir wars. Kama and his wife, amid many temptations and serious difficulties, designedly put in their way by heathen Chiefs, to seduce them from their steadfastness, are still members of the Church, and regular in their attendance upon its ordinances." From the great event of his decision, and the action taken upon that decision, he never swerved or drew back; but for fifty years maintained his integrity against all "seducers and opposers."

But in process of time, as things did not move on very smoothly betwixt Pato and Kama, the latter separated from the former, taking so many of the people with him as chose to share his fortunes. The clan was not large at first. In 1835 he first removed to Newtondale, not very far distant from Pato; but, after remaining there for about three years, he removed again with his people about one hundred and twenty miles northward, inland from the sea; a part of the country claimed by the Tembookies. This would be about the year 1838. I was appointed to the Mission Station on the Beka River, being about six miles from Fort Peddie and twenty from Wesleyville. After the war of 1835, Pato and his people removed from Wesleyville, and took up their abode in this locality; the "*great place*" being about two miles from the Station. At that time very little was heard



THE CHRISTIAN CHIEF KAMA.

of Kama ; his name was scarcely ever mentioned, and his dwelling-place was almost unknown.

But when the war of 1846 broke out, immediately after my leaving the Beka, Pato was either drawn or driven into it, which proved his ruin, as will be seen in another place. But Kama came to the front, and was soon found ranged on the side of the English ; he and his people doing hard and dangerous duty in this war.* By their aid, together with the assistance rendered by the Fingoes, the line of posts was kept open from East London along the frontier up to Fort Beaufort, by which means supplies could be landed at East London, and forwarded to the various encampments, so as to enable the army, when hard pressed, to keep the field. The value of these services could only be estimated by the loss and damage which must have taken place, had the troops not been able to keep the field. Had they been driven back, to retake what was lost could only have been done at immense cost of men and treasure.

In 1849 the Rev. W Shepstone was appointed the Missionary to Kama and his people. The Station was named "KAMA STONE," for the purpose of honourably perpetuating the names of KAMA the Chief, and Shepstone the Missionary. This was the more proper inasmuch as Shepstone was a fellow labourer with William Shaw when the Mission at Wesleyville was commenced.

During the eleven years which intervened from the time of Kama taking up his abode in this distant locality to the appointment of the Rev. W Shepstone as his Missionary, the Christian principle and genuine piety of Kama were severely tested. He was isolated ; he stood alone far distant from any Wesleyan Missionary, and without the spiritual oversight or civilizing influence of any white man. If his professed religion had been one of opinions and dogmas, it would have waned and declined, and he would have returned to heathenism. But this did not take place ; he had the "root of the matter within him," the root of Divine saving grace, which is more powerful than opinions, creeds, dogmas, or professions : so it endured the test. He not only sustained his position as Chief of his people, but also became their spiritual adviser and leader. On the Sabbath

* This was yet more signally repeated in the war of 1850-2.

he collected his people together for the worship of God ; the Holy Scriptures were read, exhortations given, and prayer offered ; which religious exercises were attended and followed by a number of his people embracing the truth as it is in Jesus, and consecrating their hearts to God. Thus the Priest-Chief was found faithful, until God in His good providence sent the people a regular Pastor, upon which some thirty or forty professed converts were handed over to him, and became the basis and nucleus around which so many have subsequently gathered.

The Station thus established soon became prosperous, a considerable number of Kama's people living upon it, who began to feel their position, and turn their attention to the arts of industry ; so that their material as well as their spiritual interests progressed favourably. This continued until the war of 1850-2 broke out, which proved to be the most bitter and deadly of all the Kaffir wars, in consequence, to a great extent, of the fact that many of the Half-castes and Hottentots who were British subjects became rebels and joined the Kaffirs. Many of these possessed fire-arms, and knew how to use them with deadly effect. The Kaffirs and their allies took advantage of every opportunity of rushing into the Colony along the whole line of the extended frontier, from the seaboard up to the Stormberg range of mountains ; the troops and Burghers were hard pressed, and suffered serious reverses ; until they were at length "shut up in Whittlesea," with very faint prospects of making any successful assault upon the enemy. This information was given me by one of the bravest English Captains of the Burghers and is fully corroborated by others. At this critical and dangerous moment Kama and his warriors came out, and, attacking the enemy betwixt Whittlesea and Kamastone, fought a hard battle, in which Kama and his men were victorious, driving back the infuriated foe, and turning the scale of war. From that day the Burghers, thus reinforced, were able not only to "hold their own," but to "turn the battle to the gate," and by degrees drive back the Tembookies, until that part of the country was cleared, and the Government was able to arrange the terms of peace.

At the close of the war large portions of land were taken from the conquered tribes; and were allotted partly as farms to Europeans, partly as native locations, and partly as Government reserves. The Ghika Kaffirs, who had dwelt between Fort Beaufort and King William's Town, had been engaged desperately in this war; and to dislodge Makomo from the mountains and kloofs above Fort Beaufort, and Sandilli from the gorges and fastnesses of the Amatola range, had been a most difficult task. Indeed, the writer, when looking at some of these "strongholds" in the *Waterkloof*,—as "Makomo's Den," and other places near Fort Fordyce,—has wondered however the troops and Burghers could dislodge them at all; more especially as the war was to a great extent of the guerilla kind, and the Kaffirs had every advantage of local knowledge, and could from their hiding places pick off the parties in search of them, whilst they themselves were unseen. But, terrible and prolonged as the war was, the troops and Burghers ultimately conquered, and the country was taken from the Kaffirs; the Government assigning to those who were conquered land in other localities.

At the close of the war, therefore, the Government gave Kama and his people a tract of country along the Keiskama River, from Middle Drift downwards; being bounded on the south-west by the Keiskama River, on the north by the road leading from Alice to King William's Town, and on the west by the Ncera River;—say about twenty-five miles in length and eight or ten in breadth. This country was given for the twofold purpose of rewarding their loyalty and fidelity to the Government, on the one part: and of forming a breakwater against any future incursion of barbarous tribes, on the other part.

To this location Kama and his family and people removed in 1853, and there they have dwelt for the last twenty-three years. Of his family there were three sons and two daughters. All the sons promised well for a time, but it is to be feared that two of them were ensnared by that fell destroyer "Cape brandy," and were brought to a much earlier grave than they probably would have been but for that terrible scourge. William Shaw Kama, the

only remaining son, is now Chief in his father's stead. He is a consistent Christian, a Local Preacher and Class Leader ; and, if his life is spared, will doubtless be a great blessing to the tribe. Kama also left two daughters, both of whom are married and have large families. William has no child, so that at his death the name of Kama will become extinct in the male line.

Soon after Kama took up his residence at Middle Drift, a new Mission Station was formed with him and his people. This Station received the name of ANN SHAW, in honour of the devoted Christian lady who was the wife of William Shaw, and "whose praise is in all the Churches." This has probably been the most successful Mission Station in South Africa ; certainly has had the largest number of members and workers of any connected with the Wesleyan Church in the country. Appended to this chapter is a Plan of the Annshaw Circuit for 1874-5, which shows, —2 European Missionaries, and 3 Native Missionaries ; 78 preaching places ; 84 Local Preachers, including Exhorters. There were also 110 Class Leaders, and some 1,500 members, including those on trial. There were 12 day and Sunday schools, and about 750 scholars. The whole of these did not belong to the Kaffirs of Kama's people, there being some Fingoes ; but Kama's Kaffirs could be taken at one thousand members. When we add to these the number who have "died in the Lord" and gone to heaven, and those who have removed to other parts of the country ; then with adoring gratitude we may exclaim, "What hath God wrought !" How wonderful the progress since 1825 ! "The first public baptismal service was held at Wesleyville, August 19th, 1825." "On this occasion three of the native converts were baptized in the presence of a large number of people."

The Rev. W Sargeant was the Missionary to whose lot it fell to commence this Mission. The Rev. W H. Garner was next appointed, and was followed by the Rev. Robert Lamplough, whom the Rev. J. R. Sawtell succeeded. In the early part of 1871, the writer of these pages was appointed, and after four years was followed by the Rev. Ben S. H. Impey.

During the twenty-three years of Kama's residence at Middle Drift, he held on "the even tenour of his way," mild, gentle, and just. As a ruler among his people, he ever sought after peace in settling their various and sometimes serious disputes. To do justly to all parties alike was his constant aim ; and he so far succeeded as to secure the confidence of his people, both Christian and heathen, and was confided in and respected both by Europeans and Kaffirs. He was a fine specimen of the Christian Kaffir gentleman.

As a Christian, he was sincere, modest, and steadily devoted to God and his Mission. That he had his defects and failings was but human ; but these were few and small, considering the fact that he had only been recovered from heathenism a short time and was surrounded by much that was deteriorating. He was exposed to temptation and danger, and sometimes was brought into slippery places by those whose higher civilization and elevated rank should have been to him "a tower of strength ;" but by the grace of God he was enabled to stand, and thus maintained his Christian character to the end.

I was appointed to take charge of the Annshaw Station in the beginning of 1871, being assisted by one European and three Native colleagues. On my arrival I found the old Chief growing feeble, but still able to walk about the house. Being no longer able to walk to church, he was conveyed thither in a spring cart. As he walked tremblingly up the long aisle of the church, he had a specially venerable appearance. His tall figure, not yet stooping under the pressure of age, but still erect in its bearing ; his grey hair and intelligent face, lighted up with a benignant smile, and looking complacently on all around ; together with his goodly European clothing ; made him a striking contrast to the low savage or the sensual heathen ; and my heart many times ascended in thanks to "the God of all grace" for the blessed transformation effected by the pure Gospel of the Son of God. The religion which could effect such a result must be Divine !

When he became too feeble to be conveyed to the house of God for public worship, the services were held in

his own house ; the Class was met by Mr. Cumming, an Englishman living close by ; and preaching was conducted by myself and others. During the service the old man would kneel in prayer as long as he was able, and respond to the thanks and petitions offered ; and then, whilst the sermon was being preached, would sit alone on his much worn horse-hair sofa, his eyes glistening with delight, or sending forth gushing tears, whilst Jesus, the Saviour and the Resurrection, was preached ; the whole closing with a deep "Amen" from his sable lips.

The close now gradually drew near ; the tabernacle being taken down, not by disease or violence, but quietly and gradually, "in age and feebleness extreme." During the earlier stages of his sickness, some of the heathen councillors sought to induce Kama to call in the aid of heathen doctors ; but in vain ; he persistently refused. When I spoke to him about the better land, and God's mode of taking down the body with the assurance that it would rise again, "made like unto the glorious body" of the Son of God ; and reminded him that in heaven there would be no more pain, no more sorrow, and "no more death ;" his eyes sparkled with joyous emotion. When the Crucified One was set before him as his atoning Saviour, he rejoiced to acknowledge Him as the Redeemer in whom He trusted for salvation.

For some time his mental powers had become feeble, and towards the close he became insensible. The Rev. Ben S. Impey, my successor at Annshaw, thus writes of the closing scene : "I have only time this morning to write a line to inform you of the death of the old Chief Kama. The happy release took place last night at half-past nine o'clock. Mr. Cumming and I and several of his people were with him. He was quite unconscious, and had been for some days. Just before he died, he opened his eyes, looked round the room, and smiled two or three times, and then quietly passed away." He was interred on the following day, the funeral being attended by a large number of his people and friends,—not fewer than seven hundred, or eight hundred, Europeans and Kaffirs,—who thus paid their last mark of respect and esteem to the "old Chief."

In this manner terminated the earthly course of this first Christian Kaffir Chief, after a consistent career of half a century. How great the contrast to that of the death of a heathen Chief, dying in the dark, and having no cheering ray of hope beyond the cold grave ; others probably being tortured and put to a cruel death for the imputed crime of witchcraft ! But here all is calm, whilst mourning friends can only think of the emancipated spirit as being bright and happy before the throne of God. His age is not accurately known ; he could not be less than seventy-five years old, and might be more.

Kama never had but one wife, and she survives him. She became a member of the Wesleyan Church at the same time that Kama did, and has continued steadily walking on in the Christian path through the many years which God has given. She is still able to attend the house of God, and does not fail to come whenever circumstances permit. She is spared to see her children of the third generation growing up around her.

What has been already written relates chiefly to Kama and his Mission. I have designedly refrained from going into particulars about the tribe, in order to avoid breaking the thread of the narrative ; but Kama and his Mission would not be complete without some distinct notice of the tribe. The romantic origin of the tribe has been given before, so that the subject has only to be taken up briefly from the commencement of the Mission. When Mr. Shaw and Mr. Shepstone began the Mission at Wesleyville, Pato was at the head of the tribe ; Kobus and Kama were brothers, the latter being the youngest. It has also been noted that at an early period Kama separated from Pato, with those of the tribe who chose to share his fortunes. The clan was not large, and lived in an unsettled state for years, first at Newtondale, and afterwards at Kama-stone. After the war of 1835, Pato removed from Wesleyville to a place about ten miles below Fort Peddie, and the BEKA Mission Station was placed about six miles from Peddie ; " the great place " being some three miles distant from the Station. I was the Missionary on this Station

n the years 1844-5. Pato came often to the Station, and occasionally to the church, with a few of his followers covered with red blankets. At that time he had many people, and was regarded as one of the richest Chiefs in the land, in point of cattle. I removed from the Station a short time before the war of 1846. War was impending, and I saw that Pato was in danger of being drawn into it. I faithfully warned him of the consequences, and dissuaded him from taking part in it to the utmost of my ability. But in vain. From causes which it is not needful to state, he joined the other tribes in this maddened conflict. After a long struggle and the expenditure of much treasure and loss of many lives, the British troops were ultimately victorious. Pato was among the last to submit, harassing the troops and Burghers for a long time in the gorges and fastnesses of the Kei River. It was a dark day, a fatal day for Pato and his people, when they plunged into this war; their losses were heavy, their ruin complete.

Pato lost his cattle, his land, his people, and ultimately his liberty. He was taken prisoner and transported to Robin Island; whence he returned after some years, an old and feeble man. He was located near Fort Murray, some ten miles from King William's Town, not far from the Mount Coke Mission Station; where he lived a few years, unnoticed and unknown, and then died, unhonoured and forgotten.

Not so with Kama. The reader has already been informed of his wanderings, his loyalty to Government under adverse circumstances, his steady heroism in time of war, and, ultimately, his being located on the Keiskama River. From that time to the present the Colony has not again been desolated by war. Kama and his people have dwelt in peace, under the fostering hand of the British Government, and the Christian influence of Ministers and Teachers. They have increased in numbers, in material wealth, and in social position.

The Table of the Census of 1857, as given by me in my work on the "Past and Future of the Kaffir Races," states the population at 12,938. The Census on the 1st of January, 1875, shows 17,619; being an increase of 4,681; pro-

bably, in reality, about 5,000. The future increase must of necessity be limited, as the location is now occupied to nearly the extent of its capability.

The Census gives further 2,962 huts; 709 horses, 16,579 cattle, 20,461 goats, 44,848 sheep; 45 wagons, 553 ploughs; 307 arms; taxes paid to Government £1,481, being considerably more than the Government expenses upon the Location. This amount is obtained by *direct taxation upon the huts.*

We have here, then, a tribe of sixteen thousand souls, gathered out of fragments; its origin being, that of condemned men saved from death by the humane interposition of Englishmen, and increased by small additions from time to time under Kama. These are in a state of considerable advancement, religious, social, and civil; under Magistrates, Ministers, and Teachers.

What has made the difference between Pato and his people, and Kama and his people? CHRISTIANITY! Christianity alone! Christianity as imparted, instrumentally, through Wesleyan Missions. Glorious results! Truly Christianity is the conserver of nations!

When the Mission was commenced by Messrs. Shaw and Shepstone, everything was in favour of Pato and against Kama: but Kama yielded to the teachings and claims of our elevating, ennobling Christianity, while Pato rejected them; the former course led to honour and long life, the latter to shame and death. The one Chief sinks into an obscure grave, and is forgotten; the other dies in the midst of his friends, and is carried to his grave amidst the respectful regrets of thousands of his people, whilst "his memory is blessed."

There are those who say, "Civilize first and Christianize afterwards." I hold this to be false in principle and impracticable in action. The question has been argued out fully in my work on the "Past and Future of the Kafir Races:" I discuss it not again in this place, but adduce the above by way of illustration and proof. Nay, the facts are still more potent; for even among the people of Kama's tribe there are at this day thousands who remain heathen, and as such are not advanced a step in civilization above

the heathen in the depths of Kaffirland, although they are surrounded not only with the civilization of Europe, but likewise with the civilization of hundreds of their own nation, who, being Christians, have grafted civilization upon Christianity, or adopted civilized habits as a natural result. If the Census given above were analysed, the probability is that nearly the whole of the forty-five wagons would be found to belong to Christians; scarcely any to heathens. This is the only outward, tangible test; as ploughs and sheep are now taken up by the heathen as well as the Christian. The heathen know the value of woolled sheep, and get them so far as they can; and to get ploughs is almost a necessity, as the women are no longer willing to "pick" the ground as they did.

But how about the future? This is a grave question, and the answer to it is of a vital nature. The two points which are to determine this are, First, Is their land secure? Second, To how great an extent are brandy-drinking and Kaffir customs to be allowed? In answer to the first inquiry, I am thankful to be able to say that there is every reason to suppose that the question is set at rest. As the result of the most determined and persevering effort on my part against the most harassing and formidable difficulties, I have succeeded in getting the Locations of Annshaw and Peceleni (Perksdale) surveyed, in which there are village and garden allotments for individuals or families and a large commonage as public grazing land for those who hold the allotments. The *personal titles* to Annshaw are now issued, and those for Peceleni are in preparation,—more than one hundred in each case; the people being already in possession of their allotments, as pointed out by the surveyor; and so the difficult question is set at rest.

Then in reference to the lands of the whole Location; these have been in jeopardy; the Government evidently thinking that these were only lands held by Kama and his people on sufferance. Hence a short time ago a party sought to obtain a part of the Location,—say four or five thousand acres, and the Government entered into arrangements with this party to have the land surveyed and alien-



WILLIAM SHAW KAMA.

ated, and employed the surveyor, without the slightest reference to Kama, or asking his permission. So that the grave question was put : " Can the Government give Kama land one day, and take it away another without asking about it ? If a Kaffir lends a cow to a man, he does not take it away without asking." Fortunately for the security of this tribe, *Sir George Grey executed a TITLE to the Location* during his term of office ; which title was deposited in the charge of our General Superintendent, and by him in my hands, for safety and use at the time. Without delay I consulted the proper Government authorities ; when, strange to say, they had not the original, of which this should be only a copy, or duplicate. But when I presented this title to the " Commissioner of Lands," he refused to acknowledge it, being willing to treat only with Kama on the subject. But Kama was now too feeble ; his son, William Shaw Kama, had been installed as Chief by the tribe some time before ; but this action had not been regularly executed in connexion with the Government ; and Kama had made no will ; so that the Commissioner said, " I don't know William Shaw Kama ; he is only a private person in the eyes of the Government : we cannot treat with him ;" &c., &c.

Under these circumstances, without delay, I had a legal document prepared by an attorney ; in which Kama formally abdicated the Chieftainship, and his son William formally accepted the same, according to the conditions of the title. But this document, *in duplicate*, must be signed by the old Chief in the presence of the counsellors and head men of the tribe. Hence, on a day appointed they assembled at Kama's residence. His mind, however, had become so feeble, and his suspicions so great on all land matters, that it took some time for his family and counsellors to explain the document to his comprehension. This, however, was fully effected, when his signature was appended, with that of his son, William Shaw Kama, and those of legal witnesses. After the whole was completed, all the counsellors, head men, and the now formally installed Chief, rose to their feet to thank me for what I had done ; whilst the old Chief sat in their midst under his

verandah, a smile of satisfaction having taken the place of the look of anxiety which before marked his countenance. I felt this to be a moment, not of pride, but of true gratification, and thankfulness that I had been enabled under God to settle a question which was vital to the tribe; and in this, as well as other matters relating to the Location before named, I felt that my Missionary life, standing for the last quarter of a century upon this Native Land question,—as fully treated in my “History of Natal,” and “The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races,”—had only been a preparation for these important events, which in their consequences will affect the parties concerned to a greater extent than can be imagined by those who are not acquainted with the difficulties and dangers of land questions among the Natives in this country.

But some may say, “What had you as a Minister to do with these things?” My answer is, First, They are not matters of a political nature, but such as affect the temporal and spiritual interests of the parties concerned for many years to come: and it would not be difficult to show that the spiritual interests were more seriously involved than the temporal. Second, Had I not done these things, no other parties could or would. I proposed to William Shaw Kama that they should employ an attorney: he went home, and they talked over the matter all night; and the next morning he came with one of his counsellors, and begged me to do it for them. He said, “We have no one to look to but you; we do not understand the ways of lawyers; we are willing to pay the lawyers, but it must be through you,” &c., &c. I only yielded when I saw that this necessary business would not be done at all unless I did it. Afterwards I was fully convinced that no attorney would have obtained the signature of the old Chief. I was not aware at the time that his suspicions were so deep and so difficult to deal with.

This was the last public act of Kama’s life; his mind was set at rest; and doubtless this had much to do with smoothing his pathway to the tomb. A few days afterwards I left Annshaw, to take my appointment at Fort Beaufort, where the parties could still consult with me upon matters which concerned them.

The other great danger to the people and hinderance to the spread of the Gospel among them is, "Cape brandy" and vile Kaffir customs. Limited space does not permit me to enlarge upon the latter: their name is "Legion." I have written upon them in my last work, "The Kaffir Races," and any reader who may desire to know them somewhat more fully may obtain the information there. The neglect of the Government in relation to some of these things is deeply to be deplored. Heathens, in the exercise of the most vile and abominable customs, in the Colony, *hide themselves behind the shield of the Government's allowance of them*; whilst native Christians, lovers of order and decency, are discouraged and to a great degree paralysed.

In the historical notices, given in this chapter, of Kama, his Mission, and his people, nothing of moment has been omitted, whilst at the same time unnecessary detail has been carefully avoided. The whole is a practical comment upon the Apostle's declaration: "But godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." (1 Tim. iv. 8.) The following posthumous testimonies as to the character and conduct of this Christian Chief, given by the highest and most impartial authorities, form a fitting conclusion to the record of this worthy man's life. They are taken from the London "Watchman," for June 7th, 1876.

"To the Editors of the Watchman.

"Dear Sirs,—During my recent extensive journeys in South Africa I visited the Annshaw Station, and was gratified to find it in such a flourishing state. The following communication will, I am sure, afford pleasure to your readers. No man is better able to form a sober judgment of the value of Christian Missions among the African races than Mr. Brownlee. I need scarcely say that the Mr. Shaw referred to is the late Rev. William Shaw, whose memory is affectionately cherished by the Amagqunukwebi. I am yours truly, G. T. PERKS."

"'Tis an ill wind that blows nobody any good,' is an old proverb, the truth of which the inhabitants of Annshaw or

Middle Drift have proved, as on account of the swollen state of the Keiskama River we have been favoured for a day or two with the presence of the Hon. Charles Brownlee, Secretary for Native Affairs. Mr. Brownlee arrived here on the 14th, *en route* for King Williamstown and the Transkei. Many of the natives had assembled to meet him on that day, but were unable to cross the river. On Tuesday, the 15th, word having been sent to the village on this side the river that Mr. Brownlee wished to meet the people, they assembled to the number of about two hundred and fifty or three hundred in the chapel.

“Mr. Brownlee spoke to this effect: ‘My friends, I am glad to meet you again to-day. You will have noticed that we are assembled in the chapel, and not in the place where we are accustomed to meet—the Magistrate’s office. The reason is this: Since I last saw you, you have been bereaved of one who for many years was your father and your Chief, and I have taken this opportunity of calling you together that I may speak a few words to you about him, and express my sympathy with you in your loss. We are met together in the chapel in which he was accustomed to worship and near the grave in which he is buried—not to discuss any political question, but that we may mingle tears of sympathy and sorrow. My words to-day shall be few, and I think I cannot do better than read you a letter which I wrote to the Chief Kama a month or two before his death, because this letter contains all I now wish to say to you.’

“The letter was here read, which will be found below. After reading it Mr. Brownlee continued: ‘This letter is now your inheritance, and I wish you to make it as public as you can. I wrote it not only for Kama himself, but also for his people; and I hope you will often think about it, and refer to it; and I trust it may be the means of comforting you, and doing good to many of your countrymen who have not yet come under the power of the Gospel of Christ.’ Mr. Brownlee then spoke upon the blessings which follow every nation that embraces Christianity, and contrasted the condition of Kama and his tribe with the state of other tribes that rejected the Gospel, and concluded by bringing prominently before the people the fact of the decided and unwavering stand which Kama took in opposition to trials and taunts from his own counsellors, as well as from other Chiefs; and that though he had been repeatedly urged

and actuated to take other wives, he had remained faithful to the wife of his youth.

“ William Shaw Kama, the Chief, Joseph Tole, the headman, and one or two others, said a few words in reply, in which they thanked Mr. Brownlee for this meeting, and the kind words of comfort and encouragement he had spoken. They thanked the Government for its past acts of kindness and consideration, and expressed themselves as well satisfied to remain under British rule, and trusted that the Government would care for them in the future as it had done in the past.

“ Mr. Brownlee having stated, at my request, that the following was to be the inscription upon Kama’s tombstone,—

WILLIAM KAMA,
CHIEF OF THE AMAGQUNUKWEBI,
BORN 1798, DIED OCTOBER 25TH, 1875.
A NOBLE MAN, A JUST GOVERNOR, AND A FAITHFUL
CHRISTIAN :

the meeting was closed with prayer.

“ The letter referred to above is as follows :—

“ ‘ OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
CAPETOWN, *August 14th*, 1875.

“ ‘ To Kama, Chief of the Amagqunukwebi,

“ ‘ Greeting ! Now that, at your own request, bowed down by the weight of years, you seek to retire from the cares of chieftainship, and obtain the rest and quiet which your age demands, and to which your past services entitle you, it is my duty, in the name of the Government, to record a few words as an inheritance to your son and people, and as a lesson to instruct your countrymen of other tribes.

“ ‘ The matter on which I now write is great—it is the history of a people for fifty years. It shows why the proud sons of the royal Pato bowed down to the children of the despised house of Kwane ; but my words shall be few, lest in the multitude of words my meaning should be hid.

“ ‘ I may call to your recollection the memorable visit of Mr. Shaw to the Twecu, now fifty-two years past, when you and he were young men and I an infant. To you I need say no more ; for you know what followed upon Mr. Shaw’s visit, and that to this you owe your present position.

“‘What has become of Pato and Kobe, your brothers and superior Chiefs? Where are their people and their sons? Only their names remain, while you occupy a country, not yours by inheritance, and once owned by your superior Chiefs—and why? Because you received the teaching of Mr. Shaw, and your brothers rejected it. Having placed your Christianity in the first position, and having shown that you owe your position to having accepted and steadfastly maintained the teaching of a Christian Missionary, I shall now proceed to show in few words how this result was brought about, not indeed for your sake, but, as already said, for the sake of your countrymen.

“‘First, then, in the war of 1835, you were found on the side of Government; again in the war of 1846 you were faithful and rendered good service; and in the great war of 1850 you remained unchanged, and again you and your people fought on our side. All these services induced the Government to give to you, a small Chief of a minor tribe, a country better and larger than the one which you had formerly occupied. This country has been secured to you and your people by title, and nothing can dispossess you of it except your own act, and that is, rebellion against the Government that put you in possession. Again in 1856, when the Kaffir tribes, who had given themselves over to a delusion and to believe a lie, destroyed their means of subsistence, you, by the superior knowledge you had received, and in obedience to the Government, saved your people from self-destruction; and then the proud sons of Pato bowed down to the descendants of Kwane, and received food from your hands; and the sons and people of your brothers, on whose account you had been a wanderer in Basutoland and Tambookieland, became your servants.

“‘I need not say more, and will only repeat what I have already said in order to make my words plain. You received the teaching of Mr. Shaw; you became a Christian, and consequently your acts were just; you restrained your people from the course which involved others in destruction; you were the steadfast friend of the Government. Hence your present position; and you, just as your great ancestor, became the preserver of outcasts from superior tribes, and these now call themselves by your name; and even more than this, the Mission Station which once was ruled by Macomo, the proud and haughty son of Gaika, now owns you as its Chief.

“To-day you are the only Chief of the Amaggunukwebi. This is the lesson which I wish to record for the instruction of your son, your people, and your countrymen; and with the earnest hope that your remaining days will yet be many, and that they will be peaceful and pleasant,

“I remain, your friend,

C. BROWNLEE,
Secretary for Native Affairs.’

“KAMA’S REPLY.

“MIDDLE DRIFT, *September 24th, 1875.*

“To the Secretary for Native Affairs.

“Dear Sir,—The letter you sent me in the name of the Government I received through my honoured and beloved Magistrate. I am thankful for it, and thank the Government for answering and granting my request.

“I am thankful to the Government for protecting me, for the way they have dealt with me, and for screening me from my enemies.

“I have lived comfortably all the time I have been under the Government. I have found that whosoever hath surrendered himself to the Government is dealt with well; is peaceful and free. I am thankful for my protection and that of my children and tribe; for the place of abode, comfort, and freedom we have.

“As now the Government has allowed me to rest from the affairs of chieftainship, I therefore am thankful, and would recommend my son, whom I leave in my place, according to the agreement of the Government. I beg the Government to protect my son, as it has done me, his father, and to give him rest and peace under you. I earnestly hope that the same way you have treated me you will also treat my son, William Shaw Kama. My Chief! preserve my son and offspring, my children’s children.

“I request the Government in its ruling that always one of my offspring should act for the Government in my tribe, the Amaggunukwebi; together with whom I have served Government. My tribe is still under you, which during these three wars—Hintsa’s, the War of the Axe, and Umlangeni’s—have truly fought for the Government. We were faithful to Government, myself, my son, and my tribe. We have not, nor ever

had we, any idea to leave or rise up against the Government, our Chief. Preserve my son, preserve my tribe, while I am still living; let your faithfulness and great goodness not cease even when I am no more. I your humble servant. Let the Government dwell well.

“‘I am your humble servant,

his
KAMA +
mark.’

“B. IMPEY, Wesleyan Minister.”

“ANNSHAW, MIDDLE DRIFT, *February*, 1876.”

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION.

THE subject of education in connexion with the Wesleyan Church in South Eastern Africa is one of great importance. It is twofold in its nature and application : First, as applying to European colonists ; and, Secondly, as it relates to the various native races in the Colony and beyond its borders. It is to be regretted that upon this subject a favourable record cannot be made, so far as the English department is concerned. Fifty-seven years have passed away since the arrival of the British settlers, and the opening of William Shaw's commission. But in this period of more than half a century very little indeed has been done towards imparting a good education to the young of the Wesleyan congregations. From the vantage-ground which the Wesleyan Church had in the early stages of the frontier colonists, it seems as if they should have secured this very important part of their future and permanent success. The only school of note which was attempted was Shaw College, which existed a few years and then collapsed. Since that time Lesseyton, near Queenstown, has been established, and for a while appeared to progress favourably ; but recently has been brought into serious difficulties, so as to jeopardize its existence. In connexion with the visit of the Rev. G. T. Perks something was done to place it on a more secure and permanent basis, and it is to be hoped that it will be a success. For the education of young ladies, no public school has been attempted, and private ones only for a short time and on a very limited scale ; there not being one at present conducted by a lady of the Wesleyan Church in any town on the frontier, so far as the author has any knowledge. There are some "Udenominal Schools," to which the children of Wesleyans can go ; but otherwise they are dependent

entirely upon the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics. The Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, putting forth strenuous efforts, have efficient schools and colleges for the young both male and female.

It is both anomalous, painful, and disastrous that the Wesleyan youth have thus to be sent beyond the pale of their own Church to obtain needful instruction. There can be no doubt that in this manner many respectable young people are lost to the Church, and the sympathies of many more are effectually undermined. Until Methodism wakes up and puts forth the needful effort in this direction, she will have enough to do "to hold her own." The Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics have been "wise in their generation." Their operations were slow at first, but they took time to bestow labour and lay the foundation strongly, and they are already reaping a steady and large return, with the prospect of every year obtaining increasingly favourable results. The Wesleyans take for their motto, "Preach the word;" and rightly so; but education should occupy a very close secondary position. "This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone."

In the Native department a more favourable record can be made. But even here it is only within the last few years that definite, decided action has taken place, and that not on a scale commensurate with the pressing demands of the work. The establishment of Heald Town must be regarded as an epoch in connexion with native education. During the governorship of Sir George Grey much was done towards the establishment of good Industrial Schools for the natives. The Wesleyans obtained their share of Government aid. Good buildings were erected at Heald Town, Lesseyton, Fort Peddie, and Salem, and schools regularly organized; but unfortunately, after the removal of Sir George Grey, these were from various causes allowed to collapse. Heald Town, under the careful and continuous labour of the late Rev. John Ayliff, held on longer than the others, but ultimately fell back into a mere ordinary Circuit school. About eleven years ago efforts were again made to utilize the large and valuable buildings at Heald

Town by establishing a Training Institution for the preparation of day-school teachers, and imparting some general and theological knowledge to the native candidates for the Wesleyan Ministry. When an application was made to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee for funds, they were not able to supply them; but upon the case being laid before the late James Heald, Esq., he, together with his sister, nobly responded by giving £1000. This, being supplemented by aid from the Missionary Society and the Government of the Colony, enabled the District Meeting to make and carry out the needful arrangements. In doing this, happily, the prevalent error among the Wesleyans of South Eastern Africa, of not appointing an adequate staff, was avoided. In this instance the Rev. William Impey, General Superintendent, was created Principal, with the Rev. R. Lamplough as Vice-Principal; whilst Mr. Baker, who had been trained in the Westminster College, took the head of the educational department. With this staff a good beginning was made. Some fifteen students were admitted at the commencement, and four candidates for the Ministry. The native population of the Station supplied some two hundred scholars for the day school; and thus the whole arrangements were complete, and the "Training Institution" was launched with some *éclat*. This institution has since been carried on, about eleven years, with vigour and success, until it was found that the provision for twenty-five students was altogether inadequate for the growing demand for day school Teachers, and provision had to be made for doubling the number. The Report for 1875 will best explain the state and prospects of the Institution.

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT OF THE HEALD TOWN INSTITUTION FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1875.

"*Theological Department.*—In the theological department we have had, during the whole or part of the year, six Students. These reside, with their families, in separate houses in different parts of the Station.

"Two Students have been appointed to Circuits—Simon P. Gasa to Mount Coke and Joel Ndungane to Port Elizabeth. Their places have been supplied by

Candidates from King William's Town and Heald Town Circuits.

“The studies of the year have embraced theology, Wesley's Notes, grammar, arithmetic, history and science. All the Candidates speak English. The general advance of education amongst the Christian Natives, and the growing acquaintance of the Native youth with English literature, so largely impregnated as it is with sophistries and errors, render it a matter of great importance that our Native Ministry should attain to a high degree of general and theological knowledge, and the Committee is confirmed in the views it expressed last year as to the importance of all Students for the Ministry having a good knowledge of the English language.

“All the Candidates take an active part in the work of the Circuit, and so are prepared for an important part of ministerial duty.

“The unusual dearness of provisions has considerably increased the cost of supporting the Students and their families.

“*Educational Department.*—During the first session we had twenty-two Students, and during the second session forty-two Students, twenty-three of them being new ones. This number will, we think, be sufficient in a few years to meet the necessities of our Native school-work. Forty-nine students and three girl pupil-teachers have been in training; forty-five of these have lived in the house.

“Three Students have received certificates and been appointed to Schools: one, the senior Student, to take the vacant post of second master at the Institution; one to a School at Peuleni, in the Annshaw Circuit; and the other has been appointed to the Bechuana District. Gana Kakaza, the second master, has removed to take charge of the Native School at Port Elizabeth.

“The standard for admission has been considerably raised. Yet the number applying was far larger than required, and many applicants had to be refused. Several of those seeking admission have been trained by teachers who were formerly students in this Institution. This may be taken as an evidence that the teachers who have gone

from this Institution have been earnest and successful in their work.

“ The progress of the Students in their studies has been satisfactory, and we can only regret that the unavoidable lack of sufficient teaching power has prevented our reaping yet larger results. Their conduct, especially considering the large addition of new Students, has been good, and many give evidence of a deep and earnest piety. Some were much quickened during the special services held at Heald Town in August, and one or two of them during the mid-winter holidays joined with the Students preparing for the Ministry in evangelistic work.

“ The female pupil-teachers reside with their friends, and so miss the discipline which a residence in the house secures. It would be of great advantage if additional oversight could be given to them. Though there are several girls who wish to be trained for teachers, and, as a rule, they well repay the labour bestowed, and make efficient teachers, yet here also the inadequacy of the teaching staff has hampered the work and prevented our taking any more pupil-teachers. We the more regret this because it is very important to teach and train the Native young women, that they may take their proper position in the community, and be fit wives and companions for the young men for whose education such great efforts are being made at the present time.

“ Last August Mr. Baker gave notice that, owing to ill health and the necessities of his growing family, he must at Christmas retire from the post he has held, from the commencement of the Institution in its present form, with so much advantage to the work and credit to himself. Application was made to the representatives of the Society in England to supply his place, and it is with deep regret that this Meeting learns that no teacher has been sent out in answer to that application.

“ *General Report.*—The residence of the General Superintendent at Heald Town has been of great value to the Institution, and from this centre, and partly through its agency, he has been able to exert a great influence for good on the whole of the Native work in this District ; and this

Meeting rejoices to learn that, though he will shortly remove to Graham's Town, he will still retain his connexion with it.

“ During the year the buildings have been enlarged and repaired, at a cost of more than £650, of which £500 will be met by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Provision has thus been made for twenty additional Students.

“ The cost of the Institution for the year has been £1,295 6s. 7d., being an increase of £222 19s. 7d. This has arisen partly from the increased cost of provisions, and partly from the increased number of Students in the Educational Department.

“ The Government, through Dr. Dale, the General Superintendent of Education, has aided in meeting this increased expenditure by an additional capitation grant for the double number of Students residing in the Institution.

“ At the half-yearly meeting of the Committee held at Heald Town in June, it was decided to meet the increased charge without bringing any heavy additional cost on the Missionary Society, that all Students should in future pay £5 a year during their stay, instead of £5 entrance fee only ; and it was thought in the case of those upon whom the new regulations might press heavily, the Ministers of the Circuits from which they come, or their own personal friends, would meet such exceptional and deserving cases by raising the money for them.”

This clear and brief Report places before the eye of the reader all matters of importance relating to the Institution. Some changes in the staff have taken place : the Rev. William Impey has taken up his abode at Graham's Town, but still retains his office of Principal ; the vacancy occasioned by the removal of the Rev. R. Lamplough has been ably supplied by the Rev. H. S. Barton as Vice-Principal ; and the Rev. George Chapman has taken the position of Superintendent of the Circuit and Theological Tutor to the Institution. The whole is in efficient working order, and promises great good in the future. H. W. Graham, Esq., M.A., of Cambridge, is Head Master.

The action of the Government is liberal; a capitation allowance being made for each Student Teacher, and about three fourths of the cost being granted to the schools where the Teachers are afterwards located; thus organizing a practical scheme of elementary education on an extensive scale, and, in connexion with other Churches as well as the Wesleyans, causing scores of day schools to be established among the Kaffir and Fingoe races.

Government examinations of Candidates for certificates of qualification as elementary day school teachers have been recently conducted, with the following results: "EDUCATION.—The Report of the Superintendent General of Education upon the examination of candidates for the Elementary Certificates held on the 11th April and following days, shows that there were in all 123 candidates, of whom 43 were females. 101 were actually present at examination: twenty in Cape Town, six in Wellingtoun, two at Clanwilliam, seven at Graham's Town, nine at King William's Town, eight at Port Elizabeth, twenty-three at Lovedale, sixteen at Captain Blyth's Station, Transkei, and ten at St. Mark's, Transkei. Of these, thirteen obtained certificates with honours, sixteen obtained certificates of competency, thirteen obtained provisional certificates, and fifty nine failed to pass. The chief failures were in English Spelling, Arithmetic, and School Management. Pupils from the following institutions were among those who passed:—*Lovedale Institution*—Margaret Stewart (with honours), Joseph Jonings, Benjamin Sakubu, Samuel Sihunu, and Shadrach Bobi. *Heald Town Institution*—Richard Kawa, Ebenezer Magaba, and William Dwani (all with honours), John Jabavu, Silas Mlamleli, Enoch Mpahla, Luke Tunijiswa, Henry Sakubu, Albert Ginza, Joseph Nyoka, and Samuel Mvambo. *Diocesan Girls' School, Graham's Town*—Edith D. Hinwood (with honours), Elizabeth F. Theron, and Florence C. Tennant. *Kaffir Institution, Graham's Town*—Rich. Nukuna (with honours), William Bangeni. *Collegiate School, Port Elizabeth*—Jessie Mackintosh, Elsie M. Farquhar, Helen C. Davison, Mary E. Parkin. *Annshaw Institution*—James Palew and Joseph Marela."

In this return Heald Town compares very favourably with

the other educational establishments. Out of forty-two successful candidates of various merit from the whole Colony, twelve are from Heald Town direct, and three others are from Heald Town students; being fourteen out of forty-two,—*one third of the whole*. This is a truly gratifying result.

In Kaffirland proper the need of a better education than that which could be given in the general elementary day schools has long been felt and deplored; especially in respect to those youths who were likely to become Teachers or Preachers in the future, and who were placed at great disadvantage in not being able to acquire the requisite amount of preparatory education to enable them to enter the Heald Town Training Institution or the Lovedale Seminary. Efforts are now being made to supply this desideratum. A school for girls has been opened at Shawbury; and, still more recently, one for boys at Clarkebury: as to the opening of which we quote from the "Graham's Town Journal," of May 19th, 1876:

"On Wednesday, the 10th instant, a public meeting was held at Clarkebury to celebrate the opening of a Training School for native lads. It has been long felt that the day schools existing in the Transkei do not carry the children sufficiently forward to give them a fair taste of the advantages of education, or to fit them in after years for useful positions in society. The school now opened proposes to supply this deficiency. It will receive fifty boys, and the Committee, having secured the services of Mr. Baker, (formerly of Heald Town,) entertain the hope that, with God's blessing, a great and good work will be accomplished. The chair was taken by the excellent Magistrate of the District, W. Wright, Esq., who was supported by the presence and liberal contributions of his brother Magistrates, Major Boyes, Mr. W. E. Stanford, and Mr. Liefeldt, of Fingoland; also by the Rev. E. W. Barrett and J. Morris, Messrs. E. Hedding, C. Garner, G. Barnes, and Mr. De Beer, of the Umtata, with many other European friends and Native Chiefs and Headmen. The meeting was a long one—as native meetings generally are; and although it was evident that the people did not find money as plenti-

ful as they have in some past times, the handsome sum of £230 was raised, leaving £350 still to be made up. The total cost of the school buildings will be about £1700, and we feel sure that the favourable issue of the day's gathering will be an encouragement to the Resident Missionary, the Rev. P. Hargreaves, who has laboured hard to secure to Clarkebury the permanent benefit of such an Institution.

“ Perhaps the most encouraging feature of life in Kaffirland at the present time is the spirit manifested both at this Clarkebury meeting and on almost all occasions by the Government officers in the country, who appear to feel equally with the Missionaries the duty of doing all in their power to help the native people to rise into a better way of life, and to join religion and education with the principle of loyalty to the British Crown. May our rulers always be of this mind, in order that future generations may feel the benefit of their wisdom ! ”

LOVEDALE MISSIONARY INSTITUTION.

It would not be within the proper range of the plan of this volume to make any particular note of this educational establishment, were it not for the fact that it is strictly undenominational; and that many youths go there from Wesleyan Stations, who could not possibly be taken into the Institution at Heald Town. Besides which, there is a marked difference between the two establishments. The one at Heald Town is *primarily* for *training Teachers and Preachers*; the day school being subordinate, and supplying the materials for effectually carrying out the purposes of the Institution; very similar to Westminster College in England, with such modifications as the different circumstances of the country and people render needful. But Lovedale is a large boarding and industrial educational establishment for both Europeans and natives; and, as will be seen in the Report, contains some four hundred or more boys and girls, who receive a good education in the different departments of general knowledge. This seminary has been in existence thirty-five years. The subjoined account of its formation and early struggles, taken from the “ Christian Express,” gives a well deserved tribute

of recognition to the labours of the late Rev. William Govan, whose friendship the writer formed soon after the seminary was commenced :

“ The connexion of the late Rev. William Govan with Lovedale Institution is well known. The news of his death which reached this country a short time ago was received by many with great regret. We give below a short biographical sketch of this hard working and devoted Missionary, to whom Lovedale owes its existence. He was born at Paisley in February, 1804. His early associations are, however, connected with Dumbarton, whither his parents removed while William was yet a boy. At the Grammar School of that town he received his education.

“ After leaving school he filled a situation for a time in the office of the town clerk, where he had good prospects of worldly advancement. But, animated by higher aims, he resolved to prosecute his studies at the Glasgow University, where he studied for the first time in 1822. At the close of his second session he accepted another appointment in Dumbarton, this time in the Burgh School. There he laboured as classical master for ten years. After this lengthened interruption he again resumed his studies in 1834 ; and during the remainder of his course distinguished himself in several branches of study.

“ At the close of his college career his services were secured by the Glasgow Missionary Society, for the projected Educational Institution in Kaffraria. He was ordained for that position in 1840 ; and in 1841 he and Mrs. Govan arrived at Lovedale. The Institution buildings not being completed, Mr. Govan found some leisure for the study of Kaffir, and general preparation for his important work.

“ It was soon clear that the years he spent in the town clerk's office and in the Burgh school of Dumbarton had not been misspent. The former fitted him for dealing in a business-like manner with the many difficult questions which from time to time came up in connexion with property ; the relations of the Institution generally ; and the bearing of the events of the next few years, both in Scotland and in Africa, on the whole Mission. The latter qualified him for the task to which he had more immediately

to address himself, in a manner which, without some experience in dealing with the young, it would have been impossible for him to attain.

“ On the opening day 20 pupils, 11 natives and 9 Europeans, were admitted. The work of education was not much more than well begun, when tidings of the disruption reached Kaffraria. All the Missionaries, Mr. Govan included, cast in their lot with the Free Church, but remained connected with the Glasgow Missionary Society till 1844, when the whole Mission was formally transferred to the Free Church.

“ Matters were hardly quieted down after the excitement of the disruption, when the progress of the work at Lovedale, and throughout the whole Mission, was suddenly arrested by the Kaffir war of 1846–47. Mr. Govan suddenly found his class-rooms turned into barracks; his dwelling-house made common property by a number of officers; not a few of the Mission buildings turned into military stables; his pupils for the most part scattered no one knew where; and all apparent prospects of immediate usefulness vanished. Believing that the war would be a prolonged one, Mr. Govan returned to Scotland, and for three years ministered with much acceptance to the congregation at Inchinnan. Meantime peace was restored, and Mr. Govan, who had by no means forgotten his work in Africa, though occupied in another sphere, readily consented to return to his former post, where his presence was anxiously desired by those in the Mission. In 1849 he bade adieu to his congregation, and returned to his work at Lovedale. In a short time—grants for repairs having been made by Government—the Institution was again brought into working order. The number of pupils gradually increased. The work was being steadily done. Slowly and through many difficulties, the Institution was making a place for itself in the public estimation. At length, in 1855, an acknowledgment of its importance was made, when Sir George Grey suggested the addition of the Industrial departments. But the work was yet far from completed. Each addition only added to Mr. Govan's work and anxieties; but he cheerfully bent his utmost energies

to perform his constantly increasing duties. Through many years he laboured assiduously to develop the usefulness of the Institution on this extended basis. As time passed on, Lovedale continued to send out Native Teachers to various parts of the country, and Europeans to fill responsible situations, or to engage in commercial pursuits on their own account.

“The increasing importance of the Institution, and the rapidly extending desire for education, led the Committee, after a lengthened correspondence with Lovedale, to adopt measures for its future management, which in their judgment were calculated to increase its efficiency as an educational establishment, and promote its usefulness as a Missionary Institution. Unfortunately Mr. Govan found himself unable conscientiously to concur in this judgment, and resolved to retire from the Mission, feeling that he could not cordially or with satisfaction to himself carry on the new arrangements. However much Mr. Govan’s judgment and action at this time may be regretted, it is easy to understand the difficulty in which he felt himself. The Institution was his own work from its commencement. It was founded mainly on his own plan, and developed under his own eye, and by his personal efforts. He had seen it pass through all its stages and undergo a variety of fortunes. He had patiently toiled through pecuniary difficulties and captious opposition to develop it according to his own plan, and bring the realization of his ideas to a successful issue. With the new arrangements he believed this would be impossible, and could not be induced to continue his work in connexion with it. The Committee were at length compelled to accept his resignation; but they at the same time recorded in the strongest terms the high estimation in which they had always held him. In thus recording their appreciation of his services the Committee were doing no more than Mr. Govan deserved. It is only in Africa that the true value of his work in the cause of education can be estimated. Long before the Government took any active steps to establish schools in Kaffraria, he laboured successfully to give the Europeans who attended the Institution a liberal training, not in the ordinary

branches only, but in classics and mathematics. Many who now are in positions of trust and influence in the Colony received all their education at Lovedale; and not a few of them cherish the memory of the years spent there, as the most pleasant of their whole lives. In token of their appreciation of his services, and as a mark of their high estimation of his character, they presented him on leaving Africa with a suitable acknowledgment, and founded a bursary to his memory, called 'The Govan Bursary.'

"Soon after his return to Scotland Mr. Govan settled in Dunoon; and his manner of life there will be best told by Mr. M'Morran, the respected Minister of the Free Church there. Mr. M'Morran writes: 'Mr. and Mrs. Govan came to Dunoon in May, 1871. The former took a lively interest in the Lord's work here, as well as in educational matters, and, so far as his strength permitted, he was most willing to help myself and others. For a considerable period he taught a Bible class in my congregation, and superintended one of our district Sabbath schools. In the day school, as well as to more than one youth in their more private studies, he rendered valuable assistance. I need not say that Mr. Govan was held in high esteem by all who came in contact with him. Nor do I need to refer to the work in which he was so largely employed during the last year or more of his life; namely, the Memorials of his friend and fellow-labourer, the Rev. James Laing of Burnshill. Mr. Govan was in church on the Sabbath week preceding his death; but for a considerable time previous it was evident he was breaking up.' After a long and laborious life, this devoted servant of Christ passed quietly away, leaving behind him a widow to mourn her loss, one who for well-nigh fifty years had proved a true helpmeet, and in Africa, as recently stated by the Hon. C. Brownlee, 'obtained from the natives the name of *Nobantu*—that is, "the mother of the people"—by which name she is known to the present day.'

I can bear personal testimony to the thoroughness of the training during the course of Mr. Govan's earnest labours, from the fact that my own dear son was educated here, who matriculated in the London University without attending any other school. After four years' study in the London

University, he honourably took his diploma of M.R.C.S. Shortly afterwards he engaged as doctor on one of the Union Company's steamers in the South African service; but at the close of one year's service he took fever on board the "Celt," and on his arrival at Cape Town went on shore and died, just at the time when he was beginning to reap the reward of his severe mental struggle, and when a bright course of future honour and emolument opened before him. Truly God's ways are mysterious, and His paths in the deep waters.

The following elaborate Report of the Lovedale Institution is taken from the "Christian Express" of February, 1876. If any apology is needed for the fulness of the quotation, it will be found in the fact that to abridge it would be to spoil it; and to omit it would be very unfair, as without it no proper conception of the state and progress of the seminary could be formed.

" REPORT FOR 1875.

" IN submitting the Report for 1875, we have hardly yet come to the stage, in the history of the Institution, when we can point to great results as the fruit of a year of work. If, for convenience sake, we take the production of agents, trained and fitted for the uses of society and of the Mission field, as the standard of success, things are hardly yet within sight of what we hope they will one day be. We can only say, therefore, as to results of this kind, that in quantity and quality they are moderate and nothing more.

" Taking, however, this standard, it must be also stated, if not much has been actually *attained*, there never has been a year so remarkable *for promise* as the present. We have been made conscious of an amount of definiteness of purpose among the young men here, in respect of the object of their education, and in some instances a degree of high aim and endeavour, such as did not exist before. Promise, however, is one thing, fulfilment another, and experience shows that we cannot afford to be sanguine. Still, when 120 come forward voluntarily and declare that they have formed a certain purpose in life, after making large allowances, there ought to remain a residuum of some kind.

“Without any further preamble of a general kind, we shall proceed to give the more matter-of-fact details about the various kinds of work done during the year.

“NUMBERS AT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Native Students and Pupils | 244 |
| Native Apprentices | 49 |
| Girls | 79 |
| | <hr/> |
| Europeans and Students | 372 |
| | 30 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total Boarders | 402 |
| Day Scholars | 25 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 427 |

FEES.

| | |
|---------------|----------|
| Natives—Males | £1,068 5 |
| „ —Females | 260 16 |
| Europeans | 917 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | £2,246 1 |

“CAPACITY FOR STUDY IN NATIVE YOUTHS.

“No difficulty is found in getting native lads to study hard. Their attainments in many cases, after three or four years, compared with the wretched appearance they make at the Entrance Examination, when knowing hardly any English, are unexplainable except from a great deal of mental labour. The inferior standing of the European day pupils, over whose home studies we have no control, compared with the resident native pupils, is a proof of the same thing. To the indolent uncivilized man mental labour is usually the most irksome of all kinds of work. Here the fact is otherwise. Several things go to account for this. Somehow, among the native races in this part of Africa, there is a widely spread popular sentiment in favour of education, and lads are impelled forwards by their parents. The desire for education is naturally stimulated by the demand for educated natives, which is an ever increasing one. The method of education pursued in the Institution has also something to do with the matter. Education, besides its mechanical drudgery, is made a cultivation of the intelligence.

“THE NATIVE RACES IN RELATION TO EUROPEANS.

“So far as things have gone as yet, it might be supposed that the juxtaposition of the Anglo-Saxon and the African races in South Africa was a mistake. The colonists say that nothing can be made of the natives, and look abroad for a supply of foreign labour, while the country is full of capable but idle people. Our experience, limited if it be, may throw some light on this important question. No one can gain an ascendancy over the minds of the natives who has no sympathy with them. For sympathy there is no substitute. Another mistake usually made is a neglect of the moral well-being of a native employé. If his morale is allowed to go down, the case with him is ended. We never attempt to continue the education of any one who is demoralized in any essential point.

“AFRICANS REACHING A MAXIMUM.

“It is a long time since it was observed by men of other races, that the African who shows so great an aptitude in the elementary stage of education, becomes fossilized at a certain point, and is apparently incapable of farther development. Writers of a certain class support their theory of a separate origin of the African race by denying that there is, or can be, an African of high education and culture.

“That Africans usually reach a maximum, and that a rather low one, is an undoubted fact. That it is a necessary fact may be disproved by examples to the contrary, and these may soon increase in number. There is no physical or mental defect in the African to occasion it. Our experience throws some new light on the matter. It is partly due to the want of favourable conditions and opportunities. Still more, it is owing to a moral paralysis. Men of all races have the same moral constitution; and whenever any one ceases to maintain a good conscience and gives way to vicious indulgences, all progress upward comes to an end. This unfortunately is the rule with Africans.

“DECLARED PURPOSE OF EDUCATION IN NATIVE YOUNG MEN.

“A general meeting of all the young men in the Institution was held on an evening in November, for the pur-

ose of putting before them the question, 'What do you mean to do in life?' Often before, and now again it was said to them, 'Men are wanted: who will go and preach the Gospel to your countrymen? Incessant demands are made on us for Teachers, and we are obliged to say, we have none to give. All cannot be Preachers or Teachers. Some men only have the requisite gifts and tastes. But, however you may be employed, to what do you mean to give the influence of your life?'

"A large number of young men, Native and European, rose one after another, and spoke to the point, plainly and briefly. Much more was said on that occasion than we were prepared for, of deliberate weighing of consequences, in taking one path or other, of long cherished purposes, and in some instances of elevated aims. Some said they wished to study for the Ministry. Many had resolved to become Teachers: it was noticeable, however, they did not look on mere teaching as an end in itself. The rest said, they wished to be on Christ's side in life, though not Teachers or Preachers. The meeting was continued into a second evening. When the names were taken down of all who came forward to declare their purpose in life, they were found to number one hundred and twenty. Of the perfect sincerity of all that was said, there cannot be a doubt. There was no excitement, and the silence of some indicated that those who made statements did so from the moral power which conscious sincerity gives.

"But how much blossom never comes to fruit! Early promise, bright hopes, and good resolutions often come to nothing. Let every one, however, who is conscious with himself how poor a proportion performance bears to good resolved in his own case, judge these African young men with candour. Probably many will bear no fruit at all, but some may bear a hundred fold.

"EDUCATION.

"*I. Higher or College Department.—Theological Course.*—During part of the year only has any theological class been carried on. The previous class had finished their studies, and others were hardly ready to begin a theological course. The formation of a new class will be the

first work of 1876. Two of the three students who finished their studies twelve months ago, were since licensed ; and one of them has been ordained to the pastoral charge of the Native Church at Lovedale. The third of these is employed in Missionary work in connexion with the London Missionary Society.

“Ordinary College Course.—There are 11 senior students, and about 22 others, junior students or more advanced pupils, who have taken the subjects, more or fewer, of the higher department—making 31 in all, as compared with 21 last year.

“STUDENTS AND SENIOR PUPILS.

“‘Of the senior students—11 in number—I have to report,’ says Mr. Smith, ‘that during the past year, so far as they are with me, they have studied chiefly mathematics and logic. Twenty juniors have been associated with them in the study of mathematics. Taking both classes together, there are 16 natives engaged in this study. Some of them with a good deal of labour have not made much progress, though they have by no means failed entirely. Others have shown a decided capacity for the subject, and exhibit no marked inferiority compared with Europeans. Twenty-nine in geometry is a larger number than has been in any former year. This is matter of satisfaction ; for, though mathematics, if not turned to professional account, is nothing but a means to an end, it is a pretty decided test of capacity or incapacity for the higher education. In the class of logic, the European and the native students are about equal in number ; and here also there is no great disparity between them. The text-books are Whately’s and Jevons’s “Logic.” The kind of work done in the subjects mentioned may be judged of by looking over the Examination Papers.

“‘In the classes engaged in the study of history and related subjects, there is nothing calling for special remark, except the extreme discrepancy between the best and the worst who are brigaded together. At the one end, a paper in history answers all the questions in full, so that of the hundred marks proposed for that set the whole are attained ; and this paper is accompanied by others, which

shade off gradually. At the other end there are papers which do not show any creditable knowledge of the subject at all. This is chiefly due to the want of proper training in the elementary schools. It is impossible to raise a fair superstructure where there is no foundation. The whole of our work in the Institution is kept in a low condition from the defect in primary education.'

"Mr. Moir conducted during part of the year a class in the evidences of Christianity for the benefit of those who might afterwards wish to devote themselves to Christian work as Teachers or Preachers. The class for English literature and two classes of Latin were also under his care. Mr. Moir reports favourably

"PREPARATORY SCHOOL.

"The third year has been under the care of Mr. Theal with a class of 59. This is the most advanced class in the School Department. A considerable number will be able to pass into the higher division when the instruction of the year is resumed.

"Mr. Dorrington conducted the classes of the second year pupils in the various subjects suited to their stage of advancement. He reports that many have improved by taking pains in their work, while others again have been wasting both opportunities and abilities.

"The classes of the first year were under the care of Mr. McDonald and Mr. Makiwane; there is also a class of advanced pupils under Mr. McDonald. The pupils of the first year numbered nearly 100. Many of them know but very little when they enter the place, and the work of this year is one requiring considerable patience.

"GIRLS' INSTITUTION.

"Miss McRitchie reports that during the year 113 names appeared on the roll. Of these 23 left in the middle of the year, some to fill positions as teachers and others for other causes. During the year, 3 girls obtained the Government certificate as teachers—two being natives and one European. Those in the work department number 16. The work done in this department consists of washing, ironing, sewing, and mending, and the receipts amount to close on £70.

“INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT.

“*Waggon-making, Blacksmith Departments.*—These departments are under the care of Mr. William Ririe and Mr. George Robertson, assisted at present, till the Transkei buildings are ready, by Messrs. Brown and Macintosh. In the waggon-making department during the year there were in all 18 apprentices, of whom 4 have left, either of their own accord or from being found unsuitable after three months’ trial. There remained 14. Of these, 4 have shown special aptitude for learning their trade, and the others give fair promise, with the exception of one young man, who however is persevering and of exemplary character. The conduct of apprentices in this department has been uniformly good; nothing serious enough to require punishment having occurred in the shops during the year.

“In the blacksmiths’ department there are six apprentices, who all behaved themselves satisfactorily, with the exception of one who was dismissed for bad conduct and for want of ability. In these departments the work done, exclusive of repairs, of which there was a considerable number, and excluding also waggons in process of construction, has been : 9 waggons, 2 Scotch carts, 39 wheelbarrows. In the blacksmiths’ department there has been a considerable amount of general work done, such as making and repairing masons’ tools, quarry tools, agricultural implements, gates, firearms, locks, &c. Horse-shoeing has also been introduced, and since April last the number of horses shod is 213.

“*Carpenters’ Department.*—This division of work has continued under Mr. McGillivray since the beginning of 1872. At the commencement of the year there were 20 apprentices, some of them being on trial. Of these, one after making a start declined to go on; 2 refused to sign their indenture and were dismissed. This reduced the number to 17. On August 1st another set of seven entered, which brought up the number to 24. All these are at present engaged in learning this trade, and for the most part they seem to be willing and obedient. Some of the last entered are not so industrious as could be desired, but

it is to be hoped they will improve as they proceed. A very large amount of work had been required in the Institution during the year, but, in addition, the following is the statement of work done elsewhere : one cottage of four rooms and kitchen in Alice ; 46 doors, windows, and frames ; 63 school-room writing desks and seats, from seven to ten feet long ; 27 school-room forms, 44 tables and cupboards, 11 bedsteads, 100 clothes-boxes ; besides seven sets of shelves, sofa, book-case, &c.

“ Book and Stationery Department.—During the past year there has been an increasing demand for school materials. Managers of schools find it more easy and more expeditious to send here than to Cape Town. There is also a prospect of an increased demand from Basutoland. The sale of Kaffir literature is not yet very large. Of the Kaffir ‘ Pilgrim’s Progress,’ Newman Hall’s ‘ Come to Jesus,’ and the new translation of the book of ‘ Genesis,’ not more in all than 1,450 copies have been sold. Of the Second Kaffir Reading Book, 3,000 copies. For the new Kaffir Hymn Book there is a steady demand, chiefly for the 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. edition.

“ The Bookbinding Department is under Mr. Fairlie. This is not yet a popular trade among the Kaffirs. Only one apprentice has yet entered ; though others are preparing to make the experiment, and to ascertain if they can make a living by making boards for books. To them at present it seems a very doubtful experiment. One apprentice in the bookbinding and twenty-four in the carpenter’s department indicates the order in which the arts of civilized life take root. The prize for ornamental bookbinding was obtained at the Local Exhibition at Cape Town of Colonial Products ; and the specimens have been forwarded to the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876.

“ Printing Department.—This has been under the care of Mr. Theal during the past two years. Mr. Thomas Clack and 5 native apprentices have also been employed. Besides job printing, there have been turned out during the year a second edition of the ‘ Pilgrim’s Progress’ in Kaffir ; an edition of the Kaffir Primer ; Kaffir translation of ‘ The Angel’s Message ;’ and the ‘ Kaffir Express’ and

Isigidimi Samaxosa, monthly. A large double-demy cylinder printing machine has been purchased and set up during the year. The apprentices have conducted themselves satisfactorily, and have made good progress in the knowledge of their trade.

“‘The Kaffir Express’ appeared in January, 1876, in an enlarged form under the altered title of ‘The Christian Express,’ as was arranged at the Christian Conference. It is meant to be a vehicle for spreading Missionary intelligence among the Churches of South Africa. The circulation of the *Isigidimi Samaxosa* is steadily increasing, about 150 subscribers being added during the year.

“TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

“This continues to be wrought by native operators. One European who was trained in the office has been removed to another station. The number of messages received and forwarded during the year is as follows: forwarded, 1,102; received, 1,003; total, 2,105. One fact of interest is the gradually increasing use made of the telegraphic wire by natives.

“THE LOVEDALE POST.

“It is well known that the natives, when they acquire the art of writing, are indefatigable, if not at first very ‘polite, letter-writers.’ The number of letters sent and received some time ago attracted attention. An average was taken for a short period, and it was found that the number by the arriving and outgoing posts would be for the year considerably above 5,000 letters—the number arriving being in excess of those sent—or a total of 10,000 letters, newspapers, and book-packets received or forwarded through the post during 1875. This is exclusive of 22,000 copies of the ‘Kaffir Express’ in the English and Kaffir editions. A considerable proportion of the letters were for the natives; comparatively few of the English newspapers, though there were a few.

“CHRISTIAN WORK.

“*In the Institution.*—The weekly meetings, other than the regular services on the Sabbath, are as follows: *Sabbath*—Morning Prayer Meeting—Senior Pupils—Mr. Smith; Junior Pupils—Mr. Bennie. Bible Class for

Apprentices—Mr. McGillivray; for Dutch-speaking Pupils—Mr. Wilson. Afternoon—Meeting for inquirers—Mr. Bennie; Bible Reading with converts—Mr. Smith. Evening Service—Taken chiefly in rotation. *Wednesday*—Noonday Prayer Meeting. *Saturday Evening*—Young Men's Christian Association, and Monthly Meeting of Christian Workers.

“Young Men's Christian Association.—This Association has existed now for a year. The subject for each evening is introduced by one of the members reading a short paper, which is followed up by observations from all the others, who wish to take a part in the proceedings. The first Saturday of each month is devoted to the hearing of Reports regarding the work among the heathen around Lovedale. Next year its name will be changed from ‘Christian’ to ‘Missionary Association,’ to indicate more distinctly, so far as a name can do, its aggressive character. The two original elements, however, remain as before. Bible studies and papers containing Missionary intelligence will alternate with Reports from Christian workers.

“Sabbath School.—The Sabbath school at Lovedale has 12 teachers and 90 pupils, including some of the younger pupils from the girls' Institution. The Gqumahashe school has 10 teachers and over 100 pupils. A very remarkable awakening took place there during the year. The only known antecedents are, that some of the elders had been anxious about the case of their children, and had continued in prayer for them; and farther, that one or two had become deeply impressed and awakened, and this rapidly spread among the pupils of the day school. A narrative of some of the cases, written by the teacher John Msikinya, was published in the ‘Kaffir Express.’ There is reason to think that a goodly number at this place have truly followed Christ.

“The Stations.—The Sabbath services at Ely by Mr. Weir, and at Macfarlan by Mr. Theal, have been conducted as before. The latter service is followed by a Sabbath school, to which are gathered the pupils of the Kwezana and Evergreen schools, besides those on the Station.

“Heathen Field around Lovedale.—Between fifty and

sixty workers go out every Sabbath from Lovedale, and visit twenty-two kraals. About 500 heathen are reached in this way. The workers go out in companies, with a leader, assistants, and interpreter. When the people are gathered, a short service is held, before or after which some of them are spoken to personally. In the meantime, some of the company take the children separately and instruct them from Bible pictures. They also teach them hymns and the Lord's Prayer. The children are generally eager. The old are often indifferent and callous; in many cases, however, attentive. Some persons have been awakened, but as yet there has been no general revival.

“GOVERNMENT EXAMINATION.

“*Teachers' Certificates.*—An examination in connexion with the Department for Public Education was held at Lovedale on March 23rd. The Superintendent-General of Education holds these examinations periodically, and issues Teachers' Certificates to those who pass successfully. Twenty-three candidates were examined on this occasion, out of whom Lovedale Institution sent in 15,—11 male and 4 female. All the 15 passed except one, and 4 of them passed with honours: Simon Sihlali, Samuel Mzimba, Daniel Gezani, and Miss Georgiana Stewart. Three others, educated at Lovedale, obtained certificates at the same examination, by going forward to one of those held elsewhere. The Institution sent no candidates directly to the September examination, but 4 who had been educated here obtained certificates then.

“We gladly avail ourselves of the means of bringing our work to the test of an external and especially of a Government examination. Whatever may be the precise amount of special attainments implied in holding one of our Higher Certificates, we have no wish that it should supersede any of those general tests, which those are required to undergo, who wish employment in connexion with the Department for Public Education.

“CAPE UNIVERSITY.

“*School Examination.*—An examination for schools, in connexion with the Cape University, will be held annually in April. That held this year was the first of the kind.

A local Committee was formed by several gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and Alice was made one of the centres of examination. The Institution sent 10 Candidates, of whom 6 gained Certificates. Of these three were natives: First Class, Benjamin Blaine, Frank Makwina, Charles E. Gilfillan. Second Class, James B. Cumming, Henry Klassen, Frederick Nyoka. The age is fixed at 16 and under. This is as it should be; but it is to be regretted that, as a temporary expedient to put all races on a fair equality, the age for natives is not made 18. They begin their education late, and spend two years at least in acquiring the English language as a foreign tongue. The chief paper in the examination turns on the structure of that tongue, and all the papers are written in it. They compete at a great disadvantage, and in the circumstances the comparison between them and Europeans, which is meant to be a fair and equal one, is not so to them. In consequence of no allowance of this kind being made, at the next examination, though there will be Europeans, it is questionable whether out of the 300 pupils here there may be any native candidates. The appearance of natives is very deceptive. They are often found to be really older than they look. It is not necessary to make perpetual the distinction between European and native in this matter. Temporary circumstances require temporary expedients. But the simple facts, that an Institution with 300 native pupils is shut out of this Examination—and Heald Town is in the same position—should show that there must be something wrong in the proposed comparison.

“The reason for not sending candidates to the Matriculation examination is, that it has not been found practicable, consistently with our general scheme of education, to pay much attention to classics.

“NEW BUILDINGS.

“Dr. Stewart went home in March, 1874, with the express object of raising funds for new buildings. He soon obtained the sum of £5,000, which had been thought of as essential to the exigencies of the Institution—£3,000 from the Foreign Missions Committee, and £2,000 by subscription. His return, however, was delayed by a happy

divergence, which afforded his colleagues very great and solid satisfaction,—the institution of the Livingstonia scheme, which, besides its influence on the progress of Christianity in Africa, gives promise of an extension of the special mode of operations carried on in the Institution, and opens up possibilities in reference to the training and employment of African young men not thought of before.

“TRANSKEI INSTITUTION.

“The building is now commenced on a suitable plan. In addition to the sum of £1,500, raised by the Fingoes under Captain Blyth, Dr. Stewart obtained £1,500 in Scotland for the purpose of erecting a building on an adequate scale.

“CONCLUSION.

“No marked spiritual changes during the year, but a steady growth in Christian character in a good many. The expressed desire of many to give their lives to Christ’s service, together with the opening up of Africa in many ways in the Providence of God, leads us to expect greater progress in the future.”

This able and exhaustive Report not only gives a full account of the educational processes carried on at Lovedale, but also contains some valuable and philosophic statements as to native character, and the various influences brought to bear upon it from surrounding circumstances; as also what may be fairly calculated upon with regard to its development in the future. But as no Institution among the natives can be so well conducted as not to be exposed to the adverse criticisms of objectors, I close this historical notice with a statement taken from the “Somerset and Bedford Courant;” with the single remark, that this statement is not got up by the advocates of Missions for “Exeter Hall,” but is the spontaneous effusion of one who was prejudiced against the Institution, yet had the honour and manliness to declare the manner in which prejudice was removed by the evidence of facts.

“A near relative with whom I was staying for a few days, kindly offered to drive me up to Lovedale Seminary. I had long wished to thoroughly examine this establishment, and see for myself the wonders that were said to be wrought

there. That I was, as most Midlanders are, biassed against Native Institutions, I admit; and I primed myself to argue the point with Dr. Stewart, and endeavour to convince that gentleman of the absurdity of Christianizing a Nigger. But all the wind was pumped out of me by the very first sentence of the Doctor. After kindly welcoming me to Lovedale, he invited me to have a look over the place; and here it was that all the arguments that I had prepared vanished as chaff before the wind. For one of the first observations that the Doctor made was this: 'Our object, Mr.—, is to teach the native to work. Work he must, a certain portion of the day, or go. We can't afford to keep idlers here; lazy fellows soon leave us. We endeavour to civilize, and teach them to fear God at the same time, and hope that some at least may turn out useful men and women.' Having all the ground knocked from under me, I proceeded to examine the workings of the Institution with less prejudice. The Doctor leading the way, first we entered the Printing compartment. Here was one white man and several black boys hard at work at the press, running off the 'Christian Express.' They appeared to be well up to their work, the type being clear and equal to any I have seen. The next was the Telegraph Office: this is worked by two black boys. The Doctor remarking, 'Of course you understand the working of the telegraph, Mr.—;' the 'C! yes' came out without thinking. Then we examined the Carpenter's shop, where the Doctor told me there were twenty-four natives learning the trade. Then came the Waggon-makers, where eleven boys were at work. Blacksmiths and farriers came next, where an equal number of boys were learning the trade. While thus employed, the strains of music reached our ears; and in answer to my inquiry as to its meaning, I was told that the brass band were practising, they having been asked to head a procession the next day. The Good Templars were about to celebrate a something or another, and intended marching through the town headed by the band. The band consists all of native lads, with the exception of four white boys. As far as I could judge, they performed correctly. While they were blowing like fury a Good Templars' March, the Doctor caught me

by the sleeve, and took me rather hurriedly outside, just in time to witness about one hundred native boys passing with their picks and hoes, returning from work, the Doctor remarking, 'It's not all band playing, you see, Sir.' I was astonished, as well as delighted, and could not help wondering at the mistaken ideas many have of the Lovedale Seminary. We next examined the Dormitories: here my entertainer remarked, 'Every article of bedding is found by the boys; only the bedsteads do we provide.' I expected to have to bolt out with my handkerchief to my nose; but what was my surprise to find everything as clean and sweet as one could desire? Now we entered into the dining-room, where supper was preparing. Long tables were laid for three hundred boys: each boy was provided with a tin mug, plate, and spoon. The supper consisted of maize or mealies and churn milk with bread. These boys are not stuffed with meat, having to work moderately hard: they are blessed with a good appetite, and Dr. Stewart considers mealies and milk good wholesome food, and less expensive than meat. The bread-cutter amused me. It is on the same principle as a lever tobacco-cutter, but on a large scale, and works with a spring; a loaf is speedily cut up in slices of equal thickness in less than no time. The last peep was at the kitchen: here were from five to seven large pots, boiling. Dr. Stewart remarked, 'Three and a half muids of maize are used daily; so large pots are necessary.' It was now time to retire. I left, convinced that this Institution ought to have every support and encouragement. I may mention here, that all boys pay a fee of from £5 per annum and upwards, as their circumstances will allow. Still the establishment is not quite self-supporting, and a little help from outsiders would be thankfully received. The buildings also require enlarging, for which purpose funds are required. I shall be most happy to receive subscriptions, and forward them to Dr. Stewart, from any one wishing to assist in so laudable an undertaking."

The subjoined lithograph (copied from a photograph taken on the spot) will give the reader a good idea of the appearance of some of the Lovedale students, &c.

In addition to the foregoing statements about the educa-



LOVEDALE TEACHERS, TELEGRAPHISTS, &C.

tional operations of the Wesleyans and the Scotch Presbyterians, the Episcopalians are putting forth strenuous efforts, and are doing a great work among the Kaffirs and Fingoe races; but it does not enter into the province of this work to detail them, neither have I space for so doing. The great misfortune is, that High Church principles mostly prevail among the Episcopalians; so that in many places the public worship and schools have many of the ceremonies and adornments which characterize Ritualism; and this, in the estimation of many, imposes a serious drawback upon the good which would be otherwise accomplished. It will, however, be fully apparent to the careful reader that at the present time the educational agency of all Christian denominations combined is very great; and, as brought to bear on the vast citadel of heathendom, must produce a powerful effect; and there is every reason to expect that the successful results of the future will be vastly in advance of the past. Yea, already a great change has come over the Kaffir mind; education is highly valued by many, and the parents are willing to pay and actually do pay for their children being taught; so that it may be fairly anticipated that year by year this will increase, until, in a comparatively short time, a change will have passed over the Kaffir nation, by which, instead of melting away before the sun of civilization, they will be enabled to stand side by side and shoulder to shoulder with their Christianized and civilized compeers.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BECHUANA—NOW THE BLOEM FONTEIN—DISTRICT.

THIS division of Wesleyan Missions still retains its original name, although the circumstances of the country to which it was originally applied are greatly altered. When the name was first given, it designated the vast country *north* of the Orange River, which was only occupied by natives originally, but which now embraces three European States; namely, the Orange River Free State Republic; the Transvaal Republic; and Griqualand West, in which the Diamond Fields are situated. The former two are Dutch Republics; the latter is a British possession formed into a separate District since the discovery of diamonds therein. Basutoland, which is inhabited by the descendants of Moshesh, is also annexed to the British Empire. Being a native province, it is governed by laws mostly adapted to the condition of the people, under an English Commission and European Magistrates.

The Orange Free State runs along the back of Kaffirland and Natal to the westward, being separated by the range of the Quathlamba Mountains. The Transvaal Republic is bounded on the east by Zululand proper, and extends northward far beyond Delagoa Bay, being bounded by the Tsimpopo River. Griqualand West lies to the west of the Orange Free State.

Bechuanaland proper is a small tract of country, as compared with the two Dutch Republics above described, and is peopled mostly by different tribes of natives. The only Mission Station the Wesleyans have in it is *Moshaneng*, where the Rev. Jonathan Webb was appointed in 1875; the other Stations being partly in the Cape Colony, along the southern course of the Orange River. These are Colesberg, Burghersdorp, Wittebergen, Aliwal North, and Bensonvale. In the Orange Free State there are Bloem

Fontein, (the capital,) Fauresmith, Thaba Unchu; and in Griqualand West, the Diamond Fields. A single glance at a good map will show how these Stations extend over a vast area of country, embracing many different nations of people, from the refined European down to the poorest Bushman; speaking a large variety of languages, and living under almost every possible form of government. But as no historical notices of these Stations would be complete without distinctly stating their origin, I make no apology for again quoting from the Rev. William Shaw's "Story of my Mission."

Mr. Shaw says, "Having already exceeded the limits I had prescribed to myself, and rendered this volume larger than I had originally intended, I regret that I have not space left to enable me to furnish even a brief view of our Missionary proceedings in the Bechuana country, comprising the vast regions lying between the Orange River on the east, and the Khaliharri or Zahara Desert on the west, a large portion of which now forms the territory of the two Dutch Republics known as the Orange River and the Vaal River Free States. It has been incidentally mentioned in an earlier part of this volume, that Wesleyan Missionaries crossed the Orange River and entered this country as early as the year 1822. Their first attempt to establish a Mission in the Bechuana country failed, in consequence of the severe sickness of one of the Missionaries, and other circumstances, which compelled them to abandon the project. As soon, however, as the health of the Rev. S. Broadbent was sufficiently re-established, he offered to return to that country; and the late Rev. Thomas L. Hodgson proceeded from Cape Town to accompany him, and take charge of the Mission. These Missionaries, and those who followed them, explored the country along the banks of the Vaal River as far as its northern sources, and thus opened up an immense tract of fine country that had hitherto only been known to Europeans by vague rumour; the route previously pursued by Campbell, Moffat, and others, towards Kurrechane, having been more to the westward. The extent to which the originally blank map of South-Eastern Africa was filled by Wesleyan Mission-

aries with the names of rivers, mountains, and native tribes, in the north-eastern parts of the Bechuana country, and through the whole of Kaffraria, from the Keiskamma to Port Natal, is not generally known. As we freely communicated the results of our explorations, they soon appeared in maps successively constructed and issued by various persons. None of us published books at the time. We were, indeed, too busily occupied to write any, and were content to go on with our pioneering work quietly. Thus the only publication in which even a brief account of these early journeys and difficult enterprises stands recorded, is the successive volumes of the 'Wesleyan Missionary Notices,' wherein may be found a great deal of interesting information concerning the state of these regions at that period.

"Messrs. Hodgson, Broadbent, and Archbell explored the Bechuana country with the desire to find a Mission field which would enable them to commence their labours where 'Christ had not been named;' and thus avoid interfering with the ground more to the westward, in which the London Society's Missionaries, Moffat and Hamilton, were already patiently and zealously pursuing the great objects of their Mission. But at this time the whole country towards the north-east was in a state of war and confusion, arising from the causes mentioned in a previous chapter. Hence, these brethren, with their wives and families, found no resting-place, but were compelled to traverse the country like pilgrims, having for a long period no other home than their waggons, and being continually exposed to many 'perils' among the heathen, and from the lions and other wild beasts, which at that time ranged over the country in great numbers. Messrs. Hodgson and Broadbent were, however, at length enabled to commence an important Mission at a large native town called 'Makwasse,' far up the bank of the Vaal River, with the Barolong tribe of Bechuanas. The Mission and people were soon afterwards driven away and scattered by powerful and warlike tribes, but they rallied again; and for more than twenty-five years this tribe has chiefly resided at Thaba 'Nchu, where there is now a native town with nearly

10,000 inhabitants, which is probably the largest assemblage of natives in one spot in any part of Southern Africa. The Missionaries removed with the tribe from the Vaal River, in the year 1833, when the whole country, now called the 'Orange River Free State,' was almost entirely denuded of inhabitants. A portion of the so-called 'bastards' or coloured people, who had occupied a part of the Griqua country, but who are distinguished by the name of 'Newlanders,' removed at the same time with the Missionaries, and the Barolongs, under their Chief Moroko. A body of Korannas, a race of Hottentots, to whom the Missionaries had preached during their wanderings in the wilderness, and who were now under the care of Mr. Jenkins, also accompanied them. Thus the Stations called respectively Thaba 'Nchu for the Barolong Bechuanas, Plattberg for the Newlanders, and 'Mpukane for the Korannas, were established in an extensive and fertile country which was at the time vacant; but as Moshesh, the great Chief of the Basuto nation, asserted some rights over the lands thus appropriated, they did not occupy this country without his full consent, given to the Missionaries and the Chiefs. Indeed, Moshesh was glad to receive them; for as the Newlanders and Korannas possessed fire-arms, and knew how to use them with effect, he was well pleased at the prospect of having near neighbours in friendly alliance, who might aid in the general defence from any future attacks of the fierce Kaffir races that had so recently overrun the country. The Missionaries were not long settled in this district before Sikonyele, the Chief of the Mantatees, sent a message to Mr. Jenkins, requesting him to visit that tribe. This Chief and his warriors had recently, in conjunction with others, carried war and devastation among various Bechuana tribes residing on and near the Vaal River. A Mission at 'Mparane was soon established among these people. Some years afterwards an earnest request from the Chief of the Baraputse tribe, who occupied the country to the north-east of the present Colony of Natal, led to the commencement of a promising Mission among the large native population of that country; but after a time it was destroyed by a native war, in which

some Dutch emigrants took part, and the Missionary was compelled to retire into the Natal Colony; being accompanied, however, by a body of native converts, who had gone with him from Mparane, and others who had joined them in the Baraputse country." ("Story of my Mission," pp. 557-561.)

The historian is deeply indebted to William Shaw for this lucid and trustworthy information concerning these early Missions and the exploration of the country, which could not have been obtained from any other source and without which nothing but an uncertain surmise could have been formed. This, with subsequent knowledge, will make the whole complete, reliable, and satisfactory; as I am personally able to take up the narrative from the date where Mr. Shaw lays it down. Early in the year 1840, now thirty-six years ago, I arrived in Colesberg with my family, as the first English Minister to that newly rising town; and, consequently, could not be in a more favourable position for becoming acquainted with all that was going on. But, before tracing out the course of Missionary operations, it will be needful to notice some of the great political events which have brought about such mighty changes in the country. This can only be done briefly in this place; but if the reader desires to obtain more ample information, he may find it in the Appendix to my "History of Natal."

I took up my abode in Colesberg, as the first Wesleyan Minister there, only seven years after the close of Mr. Shaw's narrative. During the interval which had elapsed important changes had been going on, but they were all of such recent date as to be fully known and readily certified. The great event of the time was the emigration of the Dutch farmers beyond the Orange River. This self-expatriation arose mostly from their slaves having been taken away from them; whilst the compensation awarded by the British Government was regarded as quite inadequate. It was paid in Treasury bills; and the Boers being very ignorant of their worth, evil and designing men set forth that they were almost valueless, and obtained them for half their real value; which still further exasperated them.

In 1841, I went up as far as the Mission Station at

Plattberg, and saw for myself how things were. The Dutch were mere squatters at that time ; the land was not filled with people, and every one seemed to do pretty much " what was right in his own eyes." To have a good gun, and to know how to use it, was regarded as one of the great acquisitions of the time. A good wagon constituted the house and the home of many of these wanderers in " pastures new," where they might dwell without being under the control of the English Government.

As time rolled on, the Dutch farmers continued to cross the Orange River, many following relatives who had led the way, and others going who were not before connected with the country. As might be supposed, large numbers had entered and occupied different parts of the land ; but they had no regular government, and were not subject to good and wholesome laws. Consequently violence and crime increased, and the English Government had no control over them. Matters gradually grew worse, until it became necessary for the British to step in, which was done by Sir Harry Smith annexing the country to the Cape Colony, and establishing temporary government over it. This was resented by the farmers, who resisted English interference and authority, and, when the High Commissioner took steps to enforce his authority, had recourse to arms. The battle of Boomplaats was fought, in which an easy victory over them was achieved, and they submitted to British rule. Major Warden was appointed Commissioner, and Magistrates were established ; the country being designated " The Orange River Sovereignty " This mode of government was being gradually worked out, until Sir George Cathcart, in an unfortunate moment, resolved upon going and humbling Moshesh ; but in attempting to do this he made matters worse, and unhappily advised Her Majesty's Government to abandon the Sovereignty To carry this out Sir George Clerk was sent out as Her Majesty's Commissioner, who, despite the most urgent opposition on the part of the English colonists and many of the Dutch, effected a suicidal transfer of the country from the English to the Dutch ; a full account of which is given in the Appendix to my " History of Natal."

The Orange Free State and the Trans Vaal Republics were formed, and for some years poor and feeble governments were carried on, and doubtless would have continued but for the discovery of the Diamond Fields on the borders of these Republics, which at once ushered in an entirely new state of things. A Treasury which, if not bankrupt, was probably insolvent, was very quickly replenished by money flowing freely into it in connexion with the "Fields." The paper currency, known by the name of "Blucbacks," was gradually drawn in, and its place supplied by "specie." The farms were taken up, and new villages formed; thus entirely changing the state and aspect of things in the republics.*

Another important result of the Diamond Fields was the establishment of Griqualand West, which, as before stated, lies to the westward of the two republics, and has an English government. This country is the one occupied mostly by Griquas or half-castes, over whom Waterboer ruled as Chief. But as disputes arose and dangers threatened with the Dutch, and the rush of Europeans was filling the land, he wisely arranged for the whole to be taken under the control of the British Government. There have been long and bitter disputes about land boundaries between the English Government and the authorities of the Free State; and as it appears very difficult to settle them, the President of the Free State has visited England, to try the effect of personal negotiation. The country now known as Griqualand West has been largely the scene of the labours of the London Missionary Society. They have had a very flourishing cause at Griqua Town, and have other important Stations in the district; whilst to the northward the district extends nearly to Kuruman or New Latakoo. These have been the fields of labour of the Rev. Dr. Moffat and other Missionary worthies, and have yielded a rich return for the labour bestowed upon them, as any one may know who will peruse the works of the venerable Moffat and his coadjutors in this important sphere of Missionary toil.

Another change of great magnitude has been effected in

* Since the above was written, the Trans Vaal territory has been taken possession of, on behalf of the British Crown, by Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

Basutoland. Moshesh and his people had become powerful, but, being on the east of the Free State, as Waterboer and the Griquas were on the west, disputes and difficulties between them arose, which culminated in war. This war was continued for some time, but the Basutoes were not able to stand before the deadly fire of the Free State troops, many of them headed by Englishmen of acknowledged bravery; and hence they were being beaten and driven back, until the English interposed. Probably the action of the late Emperor of the French had some influence in inducing the tardy English Government to act; as the French Missionaries and Stations were being greatly injured or destroyed in this war, without compunction or compensation. It is said the late Emperor interposed and urged the English to act: if he did so, this was at least one worthy and useful deed on the part of the Emperor, as it induced the English to step in, and, with the consent of Moshesh, as Chief paramount, and other subordinate Chiefs, &c., the English took over the country, and appointed D. Griffith, Esq., as Agent or Commissioner, and established Magistrates over the people; the people at the same time submitting to *direct taxation*, to defray the expenses of Government. But in making peace the Basutoes had to abandon a large tract of their most fertile country, lying between the Caledon River and the Orange River. The authorities and people of the Free State were very angry with the English Government for thus stepping in and rescuing the prey from them, as they would doubtless have taken their country and given out much of it in farms; which would have been ruin to the people, as already the land is too small for them. Let any person take one of the most recent and best maps of this part of South Africa, and he will see that Basutoland is only about *one sixth* part the size of the Free State, and probably not more than *one tenth* the size of the Trans Vaal Republic. Surely these people ought to be satisfied. The subject appears the more palpable to a man who in his own short history travelled through the land when the Boers were mere squatters, just entered into the land, and living on sufferance.

The British Government by taking over Basutoland and Griqualand West has done a little towards repairing the great damage of abandoning the Sovereignty; but that suicidal act has surrounded them with difficulties which are being painfully felt at the present day: and now when the confederation of the States and Colonies of South Africa is sought to be accomplished, one of the most formidable obstacles in the way of a satisfactory settlement is these two republics. It is to be feared, however, that the English Government in its action in reference to Basutoland and Griqualand has not been actuated so much by regard for the native races as by the new relationships which have arisen in connexion with the Diamond Fields. However, this is one part of the benefit arising out of that fortunate discovery, and deserves to be chronicled, especially by those who look higher than mere human passions and agencies, and acknowledge Jehovah as the God of providence as well as the God of grace.

Basutoland has been the Mission field of the French Reformed Church. The writer formed the acquaintance of some of these excellent men thirty-six years ago; Messrs. Arbouiset, Cassalis, Dumas, Roland, and Dyke, being among the number; and only a few months ago he met the Rev. A. Mabile and F. Coillard at the Conference of Christians held in King William's Town. These two devoted Missionaries had ridden all the distance from Basutoland to attend this Conference, and thus fraternize with the Missionaries and peoples of all other Protestant denominations, in promoting Christian union and extending the cause of the mighty Saviour. From them I obtained the following particulars as to the nature and extent of their work among the Basutoes: Mission Stations, 12; lost by the war, 3: European Missionaries, 13: Church members, 4,000: Mission schools, 40; number on the books, 3,000; average attendance, 2,000: high schools, one for boys, and one for girls: out-Stations, 50: monies raised by the people for various Church purposes, £7,200: Hymn-books sold, 5,000: attendance on public worship, 20,000. The population of Basutoland, according to the Census of 1875, was 378 Europeans, and 127,323 Natives; total, 127,701.

Hence the above ecclesiastical returns will show that Mission operations are permeating the mass of the people ; and Mr. Mabile told me that they expected shortly to have a perfect network of schools and operatives throughout the country.

Under the head of " Schools," C. M. Griffiths, Esq., Resident Commissioner, says: " The progress of the several schools in this territory has been satisfactory. In September last I attended the examinations of the two principal schools ; namely, that of Moriga for boys, and that of Thaba Bosigo for girls ; and I was very much delighted and interested at the results of both these examinations. There are forty Mission schools, attended by an average of two thousand children."

The following particulars may be interesting to the ethnologist, especially as there is some attempt at analysis of the comparative results of monogamy and polygamy. Taking the whole native population at 127,323, the writer says, " Among the natives, there are 28,509 married women against 19,964 married men ; an excess of 8,545 married women, who are therefore wives of polygamists. It is rather a large number. The returns of the Census are not detailed enough to allow us to judge whether monogamist marriages are more fruitful than polygamist marriages ; but we have been told by one of the magistrates, who has made some observations on the subject, that such is the case. He had compared Christian villages with heathen villages ; allowing the same number of huts, he found that the Christians had nearly double the number of children.

" As to the sexes, it is to be remarked that in the generation already grown up, the women, whether married or unmarried or widows, are more numerous by nearly 10,000 than married or unmarried men. But the new generation, below marriage years, shows a greater number of boys than of girls, by as many as 2,189 ; the numbers being 35,199 boys against 33,010 girls. We should very much like to know what Census returns taken in other native tribes of South Africa may prove in this respect, and whether polygamy may not be said to contain in itself its

own cure or not. For here, in Basutoland, if such a preponderance of the masculine sex over the feminine sex should continue to exist, it would indeed become needful to ask what may be the cause of such a fact, and, on moral and social grounds, at least here in Basutoland, where *every* man marries, it would become the duty of Government to put a stop to polygamy."

The above quotations are taken from the "Little Light of Basutoland," edited by Mr. Mabile, and may therefore be fully relied upon for correctness. But the preponderance of male children over female children is only in accordance with what prevails in the best civilized states and countries; and the great excess of women over men can only be accounted for by the ravages of war and exposure, which decimate the male population in their heathen state. As civilized habits and Christian practices supersede heathen customs and deadly wars, it may be fairly augured that the excess of men over women will be continued through life.

But one of the most gratifying facts connected with this Mission is the creation and organization of a new Mission to the tribes beyond, which is to be *purely Native*. This, I think, is the first of the kind attempted in South Africa, and is of such deep interest and vital importance connected with the progress of Mission work in South Africa that I cannot forbear still further digressing by giving some account of it. The following record, taken from the "Christian Express," published at Lovedale, is from Mr. Mabile, delivered at a meeting held at Nqamakwe, in Fingoland, arranged by Major Malan, and presided over by Captain Blythe, Magistrate of Fingoland:

"About three years ago our Mission decided to send out two of us to see what openings there might be in the tribes in the north of the Trans Vaal and beyond. Having obtained permission from our German brethren to try what we could do among the Maacas, we went first to them. They live in villages of eight to ten thousand people. After a journey of two months, by wagon, two of us, with our wives and three Basuto Evangelists, reached the first village. The Queen of this village would not allow us to

preach. She said Sekukuni had forbidden it. At the next village of ten thousand souls, we found a sister of the Chief, who was very favourable to Christianity, and urged us to send an embassy to her brother. We sent the three Evangelists. One came back, saying, 'Come.' We travelled on foot, putting our wives on horseback, and arrived next day at the Chief's place. We soon saw that we were not to be received. No food was given us, and about eight o'clock a man from the Chief told us that we were to go away. Our journey was not in vain to this people. We found many secret disciples of the Lord. Many young men who had learned to read were studying God's word: many had suffered persecution for refusing to join in heathen practices. We exhorted them to continue in the faith, and not to be afraid to own that they were Christians. We were sorry to leave them, but thankful, for our visit had cheered the hearts of many believers. All the Churches of Basutoland are praying the Lord to open the door of this tribe. It numbers about one hundred and fifty thousand souls. I hope the Fingoe Churches will also join us in this prayer. Will you do so?" (The Elders signed assent.) "We came next day to the Chief Moletlane. His tribe live in two or three large villages. The secretary of this Chief had been educated and converted in the Colony, and was not afraid to confess Christ, and to teach and pray. The Chief had often threatened to kill him if he did not stop, but he was so useful that he could not do without him. The work of God was going on well here. We tried to cheer the Christians to work among their own people.

"Thence we journeyed on to the Zoutspanberg Mountains. But before reaching them we heard of a Bapeli Chief who wished for a teacher. The three Evangelists went to visit him, and one of them, Josias, was left to preach there. At first he was well received; but when the people learnt that those who believe have to give up heathen practices and worldly pleasures, persecution began. Josias was driven away several times. Each time some judgment of God came on the village—hail, war, or sickness. The old people told the Chief, 'It is because you drove away

the servant of God.' So Josias was sent after, and he still remains there, and has opened a school. We travelled to the Station of Mr. Hofmeyer, a Missionary of the Dutch Church, who had gathered around him people of many tribes whom he instructs in the Gospel. Among them was one convert, a woman of the Baniai tribe. From her we heard of the people and wished to go to them. The distance was, however, about four or five hundred miles, and it was the wrong season for going to that country. We were obliged to leave that duty to the two Evangelists, Aser and Eliakim; it was time for us to return to our Stations. We could not, however, do so without trying to do something more to further the Gospel. By Mr. Hofmeyer's advice we went two or three days' journey to the *Knobnosen*, so called because they cut the skin above the nose like the comb of a cock. We found them very willing to receive the Gospel. The first Sunday we had services at the Chief's place. He understood Sisuto. He had twice heard of the Lord Jesus from Mr. Hofmeyer. We therefore spoke also of Him. There was present a Chief of the Basuelta tribe, who sat close to us and was very attentive. When we asked the people if they had understood what we had preached, he rose and spoke thus: 'You hear what these white men tell us, that there is a Man in heaven who is able to save us. We are all sinners, and must die; but He can save. They say we must remember the name of Jesus. I for one will remember this name.' He then made all the people repeat the name of Jesus after him; adding, 'You hear, this is the name we must all remember, Jesus.' We asked him if he would receive a Missionary. He said that he must ask his people. We have since learnt that a German Missionary is preaching to his tribe. We are very thankful. It is all one who carries the name of Jesus to these African tribes, so that they all hear of His salvation. In this part of the country there are many tribes who have not heard that name,—Batlokua, Baremapulani, Motyatye's (a woman). They number about two hundred thousand, who have never heard the name of Christ.

"We left Aser and Eliakim among the Knobnoseni.

They asked us to return with them, but we told them that we could not. We said, 'We have brought you here: you must now show that the Lord has given you power to do without the white man. You know it is said that you native Christians can do nothing without us: you must show that you can. You have the Lord Jesus with you; you have the Holy Spirit; you have the Word of God. Now be of good courage and put your trust in the Lord.' There was an English trader there, James Watt, who kindly promised that he would do all that he could to help them. We told Aser and Eliakim that if the Lord willed next year they were to go to the Baniai. Eliakim has weak knees; it was therefore afterwards decided that Aser should go alone. He wished to go at once, but every one advised, 'No.' He therefore remained some months preaching among the neighbouring tribes. He was always thinking of the Baniai. One day he told a Christian named Jonathan, belonging to that tribe, that he should go with him. Jonathan, who had been converted in Basutoland, consented. This made Aser feel that it was the Lord's will he should go. So he tried again. The chief said, 'Yes; there is no more war.' Mr. Hofmeyer assembled his Church. They said, 'Yes; it is the time to go.' They gave him a guide. The trader, who had been very kind, urged him to go, and gave him all kind of things to barter for food. The party consisted of Aser, Jonathan, Samuel, a Christian converted under Mr. Alison's teaching in Natal, Simon the guide, and a Baniai boy. They feared that the Baniai boy would play them a trick, and so he did; but it was their duty as Christians to try and take him home. Samuel hurt his foot the second day, and was obliged to return. They crossed the mountains. Before them was a plain for eighty miles, full of wild beasts, and with only two places for water. The first day they journeyed safely. The second they found no lions at the watering place. On going to a hunter's shelter for rest, they found a wolf. All night they remained awake, praying that they might not be hindered. The lions went away at daybreak. On the third day they reached the banks of the Limpopo, a large river, with

many alligators and hippopotami. People live on both banks : those on this side are allowed to cultivate mealies; those on the other not—a superstition. They were shown a drift. It was Saturday evening when they crossed; so they asked the people to come and hear great things next day. The people are a conquered tribe, the Bakhhalala. They said, ‘No; we are under Moselikatsi, and dare not listen to anything which he has not given us leave to hear.’

“For two or three weeks they continued to travel, and had much difficulty at times to get water. Once they wanted food, and had tried in vain to shoot some game, when they met a party of the Baniai, who, hearing that they were going to their people, gave them food. They came to other villages of the Bakhhalaka. Jonathan was here taken very ill. His body became full of sores, which bred worms, and were most offensive. Aser had great difficulty in getting the people to do anything for them. They said, ‘It is God’s judgment upon you for leaving your friends.’ He nursed Jonathan for six weeks, buying food with the things the trader had given him. When Jonathan became better, Aser thought of going on. The guide and Jonathan said, ‘It was plainly the Lord’s will that they should not go further.’ Aser replied that he did not think it was God stopping them, but Satan. ‘He has sent you, Jonathan, this sickness to try our faith; and you, Simon, this fever. If you will not go, I will go alone.’ Simon said he would go; so they left Jonathan in charge of a kind woman. A few days after this, the Baniai boy, frightened at Jonathan’s illness, ran away. A man who had been in the Colony borrowed the gun which Aser carried for protection against wild beasts, and tried to get the people to take the other guns. This the Lord would not allow. They journeyed on until they came to the first village or town of the Baniai. It is a country of mountains. The people live on the top of the mountains, as they are afraid of the Matabele. They are a very dirty people, and never wash anything. But they are very industrious. They weave their own blankets, grow rice and other grain. They have no rites, and circumcision is not

allowed. The people asked Aser, 'What do you want?' He said that he wished to see their Chief, to ask permission to teach them. They said, he must give the Chief a present, if he wished to see him. He took off the coat which was given him by his Missionary, and sent that to the Chief. He was received, and remained for two or three days talking with the Chief. When asked what he wished to do, Aser said that he had come to tell the people that the Son of God had come to save sinners; and he preached the Gospel. The Chief talked over the truths of the Gospel again and again. He seemed astonished and was much in thought. He said that there was a tradition in their tribe that the son of one of their great Chiefs had been killed by his own people; that he would rise again, and the people were to wait for him. When Aser heard this, he told again how the Lord Jesus died, and rose again; and said that Christians are waiting for His coming. The Chief said, 'If your teaching agrees with our tradition, we will receive your Teachers.' He then told Aser that he would have a meeting with his people, and meanwhile that he might go on to the next Chief. On his way he met a party of Knobnosen returning from buying cattle. They recognised him and gave him food. He had slept in the village to which the boy belonged the previous night, and his inquiry whether the boy had returned led to the father having accused him of killing his son. The Baniai followed him just after the Knobnosen had gone on. Aser and the guide had guns, and the Baniai, being unarmed, were afraid to seize them. Their shouts made the Knobnosen, who were thirty men armed with guns, turn back. They asked what was the matter. The Chief of the Baniai told his story. They asked Aser, who said the boy had run away. The Knobnosen then said, 'That man is our Missionary; he has taught us God's word. He could not do such a thing as kill your son.' They then told Aser and the guide to go on while they kept the Baniai back. Thus peace was made. You can see how God watched over His servant. He went to another great Baniai Chief, who received him gladly, and showed him a place where he was to build his house.

He wished to send a man back with him to Basutoland to see if the white Teachers really existed, and whether they would send Teachers to his people. Aser said, 'You need not. I have given you my word. You will see that in two years I will return, please God, with more Teachers.'

"Aser wished to go further, but the guide now became sick; and having obtained the permission of two Baniai Chiefs to open a Mission in their tribe, he thought it was the Lord's will he should return to the Church in Basutoland. He was able to write, and had kept a journal; so that in case of his death on the road we might know that the door to the Baniai was open. As he returned through the different tribes, he felt sad. He told the Basuto Churches, 'I wished I could have cut off an arm, and made it a Missionary in this place; and the other arm, and made it a Preacher in that place;' and so on his legs, and his body; and then there would not be enough Preachers. He spoke the truth. His heart is full of zeal for Christ. He said, if he could have sent his report by any safe hands, he would have remained. He went first to the place where he had left Jonathan. He was still sick. Aser sold a gun for cattle, and, in spite of Jonathan's request to be allowed to remain, put him on an ox, and took him back to Mr. Hofmeyer's house. This ox he brought back to Basutoland as a memorial of the Lord's mercy to Jonathan and himself. He visited Eliakim, whom he left preaching the Gospel near Zoutspanberg. Two Missionaries of the Swiss Church and three Basuto Evangelists have since then gone to the tribe.

"When Aser returned to us, he visited the Churches in Basutoland, telling them it was their duty to send the Gospel to the Baniai, and the other tribes that have not heard it. At the meeting of the Synod at Moriga, when all the Missionaries and seventy delegates from the Basuto Churches were assembled, it was put before them whether they would undertake the work. After some conversation an old Christian rose, saying, 'It is no use talking, let us act;' and, walking up to the table, put down some money. The people who were in the church immediately rose, ran

to their homes to get money, and that day nearly £40 was given. It was decided to appeal to the Churches for funds. The Basuto Churches are not wealthy; and they support their Native Teachers except four or five. Nevertheless £260 was given to buy a wagon, Scotch cart, clothes, tools, &c.; and the oxen needed were also given before we left for the Conference at King William's Town. A lady in France sent £40. You see how good the Lord is. We did not know where we could get money enough to commence the Mission. Friends in King William's Town asked us to tell them about it, and they gave us more than £100. Last Lord's day Major Malan spoke of this Mission to the Gaika Church at Peelton, and they sent us £5 by him.

"But, dear friends, in this work, men are more important than money. We had to ask our Evangelists and Teachers, who would go? Many offered. Only four, however, had wives who consented to go with their husbands. We wondered very much at this; for the women are generally more willing for the Lord than men. One of our best men, who had long wished to go to other tribes, told his wife that she had robbed him of his duty, and that God would not bless them for keeping back from this work. I will give you the names of the four who are going, that you may remember them and their wives in prayer: Aser, Onesima, Andreas, Asael.

"I must tell you of the conversion of Aser's wife. When he left Basutoland with us, he sent a message to the Churches, that as he had given his heart to work for the Lord in the north, they were to pray for his wife's conversion. The Lord has heard prayer on her behalf, and she is willingly going with her husband to work for him. We trust that the Evangelists will start in March. We are to have a meeting of our Synod at Leribe, M. Coillard's Station, in that month, when they are to be commended to the grace of the Lord, and take farewell of us. We thank God, who has put this thing into the heart of the Basuto Churches. They have much home work. They support nearly sixty Evangelists. Josefa, who is here, is one of them. He has a Station of eighty members and forty in-

quirers. We have many like him. All are supported by the Churches except four or five. You see they have a great work in their own country. But they feel that unless they work, Central Africa will never hear the Gospel of the Lord Jesus.

“I must now cease. I have tried to tell you what we are doing. I hope that henceforth you will make this your work, and remember the men in your prayers. Let me add that our joy was very great when we heard of the conversion of the first Knobnosen woman through the preaching of Aser and Eliakim. We said, ‘The Lord has shown His will, that all the Native Christians who wish to see the Gospel of Christ spread should give themselves to the work.’ The first thing this woman did was to give something. She brought a hoe to Eliakim, saying, ‘This is all I have, but I give it to the Lord.’ Who knows how many men and women of those tribes will be believers ten years hence? The work of God begins by little things. Let us all pray that the kingdom of God may spread everywhere, and especially in Central Africa.” (“The Christian Express,” January 1st, 1876.)

This unadorned detail of Missionary exploration, purposes, and facts, is full of thrilling interest. It is the narration of a multitude of facts; these efforts and results being the outcome of strong Christian principle, developed in deep yearning for the souls of the perishing heathen, those who are their brethren according to the flesh. Aser must be a man of deep piety, of burning zeal, and indomitable perseverance; his intense love for souls bearing him through all. Who ever read or heard of a man who wished one arm could be cut off, if it could make a Missionary? and then the other; and so with his legs and body. But he did more than this: those arms and legs and that body, inhabited and influenced by an intelligent spirit burning with the love of God, shall send more messengers of the cross to the heathen than his mutilated body could do. Then again, after nursing his sick companion Jonathan for six weeks, and finding after that time that he is unable to accompany him, he leaves him in the hands of a careful woman and goes on alone. Then, when he finds his wife

is not converted and cannot go with him, he commits her to the prayers of the Churches whilst he goes alone. God answers prayer, so that his wife is saved, and is willing to go with him in the month of March when they are to start. Further, we meet with the conversion of the first Knobnosen woman, who, when she had nothing else to offer to the Lord, brings her "pick" as the first offering on the shrine of a Saviour's dying love; she being in all probability the first Knobnosen sheaf to be offered before the Lord in token and pledge that the harvest is to be reaped, and that soon. The perseverance of Aser is crowned with success. He reaches the Baniai natives, sees the Chiefs, explains his errand; his application is approved, he returns to carry out and complete his purpose, and in March Aser, Onesima, Andreas, and Asael, with their wives, are to bid farewell to their friends and take up this distant Mission.

Mr. Mabile's account of the self-support of the Native Churches in Basutoland is proof of the genuineness of the Christian work among these people; but this resolve and effort to have their own Mission, finding their own men, and providing their own means, is the crowning work of true Christian zeal developed in *sacrifice* for the cause of Christ and the salvation of the perishing heathen, who are their "brethren according to the flesh." Thus the swelling tide of Gospel truth and saving power is rolling up towards the centre of Africa from the circumference, until by and bye the loud song shall be echoed from the centre to the circumference, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

The information thus supplied is, however, not only interesting in a Missionary point of view, but is also of intrinsic value to the historian, as only little was known of the part of the country thus explored. The labours and explorations of Moffat and Livingstone lay more to the westward, and the early journey of Livingstone to the interior was by way of Kuruman, Kolobeng, and Linyunti: whilst the country Makalaka to the eastward was comparatively unknown. On the eastward Zululand, Delagoa Bay, and Hambane, with the northern extending coast, were

also known. This MIDDLE LINE, then, which reaches far towards the country up which the Scotch Mission to Lake Nyasa has passed, is now brought before our notice as full of people. Thus Mr. Mabile says of the Maacas, "They live in villages of eight or ten thousand people;" at another village further on there were ten thousand; and the people of Sekukuni are estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand, being many more than the whole of the Basutos; whilst the "Batlokua, Baremapulani, Motyatye's, (a woman,) number about two hundred thousand, who have never heard the name of Christ." This is apart from the numerous tribes which Aser passed on both sides of the Limpopo, and the still more distant one of the Baniai. The whole of these facts prove that however great may have been the number of human beings slaughtered in internal wars, or to obtain victims for the slave market, hundreds of thousands of people still dwell in the land; and as they are assembled in large villages or towns, they loudly call for the cheering light of Gospel truth, and the healing virtue of that Saviour who "would have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."

After this long digression I must return to the part of the Wesleyan Mission from which I broke off. It appeared to me that a brief account of the manner in which the country north of the Orange River was taken, peopled, and formed into separate permanent states, would be satisfactory to all who might desire information on these points; as also of the manner in which the London Missionary Society had occupied the country to the westward of the Free State and Transvaal Republics, with the exception of Moshuang; and how the French Missionaries had occupied the eastern part of those states; whilst the Wesleyans had taken a more middle sphere of country in the two states. This knowledge would enable the reader to form a correct view of the whole as one vast Mission field. The religious agencies engaged in these parts connected with the Dutch Reformed Church, the Episcopalians, and the Roman Catholics, have not been considered. The three Missionary Societies of which a brief account is given, are those which have been labouring in these regions for many years; the others are of more recent date.

The Rev. William Shaw's history of these Missions brought us down to the year 1853; and, as before stated, I arrived in Colesberg early in 1840, seven years later. Colesberg was then a town in process of formation, near the Orange River, and the last English town of South Africa in a northerly direction. Many Dutch lived beyond the river, but they had to come to this place to purchase their supplies and obtain any legal, magisterial, or medical aid which they required. Many of them, also, came from a great distance to attend the *Nachtmaal* (Lord's Supper); and by these means, in addition to the visits of Missionaries, sportsmen, and travellers, constant communication was kept up. It was during my two years' residence in Colesberg that the Wesleyan chapel there, still in use, was erected.

In 1841, I took a journey up to Basutoland, visiting the Stations that had been formed at Thaba 'Nchu and Plaatsberg. This was a memorable journey; travelling in those days, thirty-five years ago, being widely different from the present. A friend accompanied me in this journey: we had a cart and four horses, with a half-caste man as driver. The first day was long, the road rough, and travelling difficult. We crossed the Orange River at Allman's Drift, which was broad and fordable; and in the evening arrived at the homestead of a Dutchman. We sought permission to stay the night, which was granted, some little refreshment being given. We were then directed to sleep in a wagon, which had nothing more than the bare *brectplank*, i.e., the bottom of the wagon made of thick planks, between which there were large openings, as also in the sail or tent covering above; through all of which the wind rushed in considerable force, so that sleep was out of the question. The hard planks made our bones sore, and the cold wind pierced our bodies, so that we were glad when the morning light dawned. We made an early start, and drove over rough paths,—roads they could scarcely be called,—and in the evening came to another Dutchman's place, where we found a little better accommodation than the night before, as there was some thatch in the wagon in which we were put to sleep. This was a

little softer than the bare planks, and it served also to break the force of the wind. Early on the third day we arrived at Bethany, which was a German Mission Station among the Korannas. We were very kindly received and hospitably entertained. The Rev. Mr. Wurass was the chief Missionary, being assisted by another. The younger Missionary and his wife vacated their bed, so that we might occupy it. This happened to be a feather bed, and was so soft that we seemed as if we could not find the bottom of it. After the hard planks of the two preceding nights this was indeed a bed of down, on which we could scarcely sleep because it was so soft. We remained at Bethany one day, and started early the next morning. In the course of the day we encountered a terrific storm, which threatened to blow over the cart. It was a storm of wind so violent that the dust was one vast dense cloud. As soon as we entered it, the wind took away the driver's hat, any attempt to recover which must have been fruitless; so he had to tie a handkerchief round his head until he could get another. In the evening we arrived at another Dutchman's house on the Modder River, lower down than the present site of Bloem Fontein. We had a young friend living here; and the family being friendly, we had the best fare they could give. We rose early in the morning, when we found the good *vrouw*, "housewife," seated by the side of the "coffee kettle;" and she quickly supplied us with a cup in homely style. But what astonished us a little was that the house was full of young ducks, which were waddling in all directions, so that it was difficult to place a foot on the ground without crushing these busy little creatures. This advent of the ducks was amusing, but another episode partook of a graver character. At Bethany I purchased an additional horse to assist us on the journey; but here a gentleman put in his claim for the horse, saying it was his, and he required it. This produced a little awkwardness, not to say unpleasantness, as I knew not how to proceed without it. However, when I placed before him my difficulties, he consented to allow us to take the horse on the journey, and I agreed to leave him on our return, which I accordingly

did. He had faith in my integrity, and I took care not to violate his trust. Fortunately I had not paid for the horse when I proceeded on my journey; so that on my return I had to tell the parties from whom I bought him that violent hands had been laid on the horse, and I must leave them to fight out the battle: of which I heard nothing more.

On the evening of this day we arrived at Thaba 'Nchu, and were glad enough to take up our quarters with our brother Giddy; where we remained over the Sabbath. By this time matters had become serious with my companion, as his life was in some danger from an attack of quinsy brought on by the first night's exposure in the bare wagon. We both took severe colds that night, and were poorly enough; but this attack brought him into danger, as he had not been able to take any solid food for some days. Fortunately the gathering broke externally, and he was relieved: had it broken internally, the consequence might have been serious, if not fatal.

It has been before stated that the people of this place, Barolongs, had been brought hither by the Missionaries, when they found they could not settle quietly on the Vaal River. The number was estimated at ten thousand, with Moroko as the Chief, who was subject slightly to Moshesh; Moshesh saying that "he lent him this cow to milk." The houses of these Bechuanas or Barolongs were by far the best native buildings I had seen, having raised plastered walls about four or five feet high; and the roof being brought down two feet over the wall outside, so as to perform the part of a verandah; having also a good reed enclosure outside to serve as a kitchen. They were not at all like the bold naked Kaffirs I had been accustomed to see. These people were the tanners and tailors of the country. They obtained the skins and hides of wild animals, of which there were many in the country at that time. These they "brayed," or made soft, by greasing, beating, and rubbing; after which they sewed them into karosses or large skin blankets. These they either sold or bartered for food. The Basutoes were the great corn-growers of the country, and frequently the Bechuana tailors bartered karosses with the

Basuto corn-growers for food ; and thus this large number of people were able to live together, not being dependent upon gardening for food. The congregations at the chapel on the Sabbath were large, and afforded much promise in the future, which has been fully realized, there being more than seven hundred Church members at the present time.

On Monday we proceeded onward to Plaatberg, which was the Station of Newlanders, Bastards or half-castes, and Basutoes, as before stated in Mr. Shaw's narrative. Half of the people were of this class, and the other half were Basutoes. It was a beautiful Station in a lovely locality. When I saw it, I could well understand how the Basutoes were the corn-growers of the country, as some way up the mountain side it appeared as though a small fountain of water gushed out, and gradually spread itself towards the base of the mountain, watering the ground and making it productive. At this time the corn was growing, and all the lower parts of the mountains, waving with the green or golden grain, had a very charming appearance. The late excellent James Cameron was "deputy Chairman" of the Bechuana District Meeting at that time. We held the District Meeting, some six Missionaries being present, with Mr. Cameron as Chairman. The meeting lasted only a few days, was very harmonious, and terminated in a happy manner. Subsequently war prevailed in the land ; this Station was lost, and is now part of the Free State. On Saturday we proceeded onwards to one of the French Mission Stations, of which the Rev. Mr. Roland was the Missionary. Here we remained over the Sabbath, and partook of the Lord's Supper with this devoted Missionary and his excellent wife and the little Church they had gathered from among the heathen. It was a delightful Sabbath : I greatly enjoyed the services of that day. This Station, Mequatlong, was also a beautiful one, situated at the head of a fruitful valley. Cultivation and labour had made the whole all that could be desired in this lovely spot. This Station, however, as well as two more, was taken by the Dutch Boers in their war with the Basutoes, and no compensation was made for them.

On Monday we turned our faces homeward, returning to Thaba 'Nchu by a different route to the one we had taken in going. The day was intensely hot: about midday we came to a native kraal, and asked for a little water, but could not obtain any. The woman gave us a little "Kaffir beer," but this luxury was so nauseous to us that we could not do more than taste it, so as to remove our thirst a little. There was no tree or shelter for us; so we crept under the sticks of the cattle fold for a little protection from the fiercer rays of the sun. Nothing more of moment occurred on our return journey, and we were glad to arrive safely at the place called "*home*."

For some years the Mission in the Bechuana District barely kept up an existence. Wars and commotions continually arose, which very seriously retarded the work, and sometimes resulted in the abandonment of Stations, until the year 1864, when this division of the Mission was constituted a separate and independent District, with its own General Superintendent and the entire control of its own internal affairs; subject only to the General Committee in London and the annual Conference. When the separation from the Graham's Town District was made, several Circuits in the Colony were attached to the District, and formed a great support to the interior Stations, not being subject to the changes and fluctuations which had so often operated injuriously upon them. These were, Colesberg, Burgher's Dorp, Aliwal North, Wittenbergen, and Bensonvale. The following is the list of Stations and Church Members in 1864, when the District was regularly formed:

| | Church Members. |
|---|--------------------|
| WITTENBERGEN: Arthur Brigg | 125 |
| STERK'S SPRUIT or BENSONVALE: John Thomas Daniel | 110 |
| ALIWAL NORTH: under the superintendence of the Missionary at Wittenbergen. | |
| THABA 'NCHU and LOKUALA: James Scott, Timothy Cresswell. ... | 362 |
| TAUANE'S TRIBE: under the superintendence of the Missionary at Thaba 'Nchu. | |

UMPUKANI and MORAMITSE: under the care of the Missionary at Thaba 'Nchu.

| | |
|--|-----|
| PLAATBERG: Joseph D. M. Ludorf. | 143 |
| BLOEM FONTEIN: John G. Morrow. | 4 |
| FAURESMTIH: George Scott (D) | 14 |
| COLESBERG: Richard Giddy. | 79 |
| BURGHER'S DORP: John Thorne, Assistant Missionary. | 26 |
| IMPARAN: Under the superintendence of the Missionary at Plaatberg. | |

Total of Church Members 863

A wonderful advance has taken place in the *eleven* years which have elapsed since this return was given. This has been owing not only to the great progress made on some of the Stations by the converts gained upon them, but also to the very large number added from the Colony, both white and coloured. The opening of the Diamond Fields, with other concomitant circumstances, has been among the chief causes of this great change. Thus in 1875 the Stations ranged as follows:

| | Church Members. |
|--|--------------------|
| COLESBERG: Purdon Smailes; a Native Catechist, | 365 |
| BURGHER'S DORP: Samuel B. Cawood; John Smith (A), Supernumerary. | 112 |
| WITTENBERGEN (Native Reserve): Richard Giddy; two Native Evangelists (Kwantunja) | 469 |
| BENSONVALE (Native Reserve): Joseph Start; a Native Catechist (Blikana); a Native Evangelist (Kwandofela); a Native Evangelist (Mapoliseng) | 396 |
| ALIWAL NORTH | 98 |
| THABA 'NCHU, John T. Daniel, Edward Harris, who shall give attention to training Native Agents: five Native Evangelists: | 702 |
| MOSHANENG (Tawane's Tribe): One to be sent; a Native Evangelist. | 154 |
| BLOEM FONTEIN: James Scott, John E. Parsonson; a Native Catechist; a Native Evangelist (Harte- beest Hoek.) | 90 |
| SMITHFIELD: to be visited. | |

FAURESMITH: to be visited ; a Native Evangelist.

DIAMOND FIELDS, KIMBERLEY: Gardener Scates, Frederick Elton ; a Native Catechist. 135

Total (1874) 2,521

JAMES SCOTT, Chairman of the District and General Superintendent.

The return of full Church Members in 1875 was 3,118, and 903 on trial. According to these returns the increase in the number of Church Members in the eleven years is 2,255 ; giving a total of more than *three times the former number*. It must be admitted that the Diamond Fields have had much to do with the rapid progress of this District ; but that does not alter the positive fact of this large increase.

It will occur to the thoughtful reader, that these Diamond Fields, which are situated on the borders of the Free State, the Vaal River, and Griqualand West, are revolutionizing that part of the country. The traffic now is very large, and Europeans are filling up the land. Two carts go to and from the Fields weekly : thus the post and passenger traffic is kept up ; and the Fields, instead of being a valueless desert, are a source of great wealth ; and the slow-going Dutch, instead of lying sleeping alone on their farms or small villages, have the enterprising English jostling them on every side. Thus progress in natural wealth and social position is being made every month. It was thought at one time that these Diamond Fields would soon be exhausted ; but of this there are no indications at present.

In closing this history of the Bechuana District we can say nothing of the future. The writer has known it for thirty-six years ; and if the progress of the last few years, as given in these pages, continues, then a bright and prosperous future is in reversion. As the Roman Catholics and Ritualistic Episcopalians are now pressing into the land, there is a greater need for Wesleyan Methodism, with its clear Scripture doctrines and sound Protestantism, than ever before.

The following is the latest official and authentic information relating to this District that has been obtained. It was given by the Rev. George T. Perks, at a meeting at Bloem Fontein, and brings the statistics down to the end of 1875. "There are in the District of Bloem Fontein," (Bechuana District,) "Methodistically considered, 22 Churches, and 96 other preaching places; 13 English Missionaries, 15 subordinate paid Agents employed as Catechists; 15 day-school teachers, 166 Sabbath school teachers, 126 Lay Preachers; 3,118 full and accredited Church members, with 603 on trial; 33 Sabbath schools, 2,707 Sabbath scholars; 13 day schools, 851 day scholars; with an average number attending public worship throughout the District of 10,800, including members and scholars."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRANS VAAL RIVER MISSION.*

THIS is a new District, which is being gradually formed ; and although “ last, not least ” in point of importance. It is the territory of the Trans Vaal (pronounced in English Trans Faal) Republic. Geographically it is of vast extent, reaching from the Limpopo River on the north to the Vaal River on the south ; stretching from the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth degree of south latitude,—some six degrees. Many parts to the northward are said to be very fruitful ; in addition to which, that is the locality of the *Gold Fields*. These fields have not yet been very remunerative, although much gold has been obtained. The expenses of getting there, and of living there, are very great, and would require a large return to allow of any profit. Hence, up to this time there has not been a “ rush ” of Europeans ; many have been up and have returned : still a considerable number remain there ; and if a “ paying reef ” can be found, the number will increase. President Burghers is now in Europe, arranging for a railroad to be made from Delagoa Bay to the Republic ; and it is said that Holland is taking up the subject, and engaging to find the money for the execution of this work, which will probably not be a very paying one, but, if carried out, will have a great effect upon the country. The difficulties in the way, especially in respect of climate, will be very formidable ; but, possibly, in these days of means and enterprise they may be all overcome.

This country was originally occupied by various large tribes of natives. It was afterwards included in the country taken over by the English, who at a late period unfortunately handed it over to the Dutch Farmers ; a full account of which transfer is given in the Appendix to my “ History

* This Mission is attached to the Bloem Fontein District for the present.

of Natal.”* There are still many thousands of natives in the land under the Dutch. Formerly a modified form of slavery existed to a considerable extent, but in later times this does not prevail as before. The entrance of so many Europeans into the country in connexion with the Gold Fields has had a considerable effect; and the present President Burghers, having had the opportunity of mixing considerably with Europeans in the Colony and on the continent of Europe has more enlightened and enlarged views than those farmers who have been brought up in Africa can possibly have. A transforming process is going on both in politics and in social life, all of which is favourable to liberty, and, to a certain extent, to Missionary operations.

The following is a list of the Stations and appointments, as they stood in the “Minutes” of 1875:—

POTCHEFSTROM: G. Weavind; a native Evangelist.

PRETORIA: Timothy Cresswell.

LYDENBURG (The Gold Fields): George Blencowe; one to be sent.

KRONSTADT: Charles Harman.

ZEERUST, RUSTENBURG, WAKKERSTROM, UTRECHT, and NEWCASTLE, request two or three Missionaries.

A total of fifty-five members is given as the return of these Stations. This, like other places, is small in its commencement; but the importance of the work and the limited extent of results cannot be tabulated. There are always difficulties in the commencement of a new work, which gradually lessen as the work proceeds. This will doubtless be the case here. The above names are names of towns or villages. The population of these is partly Dutch and partly English. Only when the facts are inquired into, is it ascertained how the English penetrate every part of the land, and enter into mercantile transactions. Indeed, the Dutch seem too phlegmatic to attempt anything in mercantile affairs. If they do this, it is usually only for a short time, as the English come in, and by their superior intelligence and pushing energy soon displace them. Only some of the more advanced Germans succeed, especially those who are called “German Jews,” who enter

* See note on p. 370 of this volume.

into a stiff competition with the English ; but, notwithstanding this, the English always take up and maintain a position ; so that by degrees they form at least one of the strongest strata of the social and mercantile fabric of any community. It is well that it is so ; well for them, well for the Dutch, and well for the natives. English influence more or less permeates the whole.

But the importance and value of this Mission must not be estimated by the English inhabitants alone. Natives have to be numbered by tens and hundreds of thousands. In the last chapter the statement of Mr. Mabile shows that in one part there were 150,000, and in another 200,000, who, up to the time of his visit, had not heard the sound of the Gospel ; so that truly the harvest is great, and the labourers are still few. One happy fact is that in recent years the Dutch have established a Mission in these parts. Mr. Mabile speaks of the work which the Rev. Mr. Hofmeyer is doing. This is a great revolution in the Dutch mind and mode of action, and, if only carried out, will be a new element in Mission work, capable of indefinite expansion and action. The Wesleyan Missionaries still carry out the plan, so wisely inaugurated by the late William Shaw, of commencing the work in the towns, and making them the base of operations from whence other parts can be the better acted upon and worked. The above appointments in the Trans Vaal are all to European towns ; but it will soon be found that as the native work rises up in the towns, it will extend from them to different parts of the outlying districts.

This Mission is important, further, as being the advanced post from which the far interior must be penetrated, and by which the work must be sustained. The Scotch Church has made a bold aggressive movement northward in going up at once to Lake Nyassa from the coast ; but there is a vast amount of territory between the Limpopo and the Lake, and multitudes of people who are needing the Gospel, as well as tens of thousands in the north of the Trans Vaal. The Rev. G. T. Perks stated that the "Wesleyan Missionary Society was willing to advance northward." If so, the Trans Vaal is a valuable base of operations :

unless a new base of operations is formed from the eastern coast, after the manner of the Scotch Mission on the Nyassa. If any attempt were made to establish a Mission about Delagoa Bay, or further on along the coast, it is to be feared it would be the Mission of death to those who engaged in it. I have had frequent intercourse with Dr. Stewart about the Nyassa Mission particularly, and the difficulties that lay in their way; but I have been solemnly impressed with the deep feeling the Doctor had about fever, and his great anxiety for the party to get into the upper region. Strong and confident and energetic as the Doctor is, he seemed to quail before this deadly foe; and it has been no small relief to find the party at the Lake, and their small steam craft ploughing its waters.

Without extending my own remarks, I now give copious extracts from the number of "The Little Light of Basutoland" published at Morija in April, 1876. It is so full of Missionary information that it will form a fitting sequel to what is found in the last chapter. There we had the interesting and graphic record of the journey of exploration and preparation; here we have the accomplishment of the plans and the commencement of the enterprise. The reader will readily excuse any little irregularity in the arrangement of the narrative, in order to secure the completeness of the whole. Every true lover of Missions must say "God speed" to this *first native Missionary enterprise*.

" THE THIRD BIENNIAL SYNOD OF THE BASUTO CHURCHES,
SOUTH AFRICA.

" The Missionaries, Catechists, and delegated Elders from the various Mission Stations of Basutoland, in connexion with the French Mission, met this year on Thursday, the 6th of April, at Leribe, which is the most northern of the Stations. The Missionaries had a preliminary meeting on Wednesday evening, and another on Thursday morning, to arrange the order of proceedings. Some of the Missionaries came in their wagons with their wives and children, and for the time they remained at Leribe had to sleep in their wagons, or camp out in the field or garden. The rest were accommodated in the Mission house. Others came on horseback

across the mountains, as there are only these two ways of travelling in this outlying Mission field. There were fourteen Missionaries, besides seventy-eight native representatives sent by the various Churches.

“On Friday, there was an introductory service of prayer and praise with an appropriate address by the Rev. T. Jousse; after this, the Synod was commenced, and the Rev. F. Coillard occupied the chair. The audience amounted at most of the meetings to near six hundred. We had with us some of the people of the Rev. G. Maeder, a child of our Mission, now a Missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church, ministering the Gospel to a Basuto Church at Wetzie’s Hoek. It was very interesting to find that two Kaffirs had come from their own land as representatives of the Kaffir Church of Shawbury to bring us £7 2s. 6d. towards the Banyai Mission, which the Basutoes have commenced by raising £286, besides giving twenty-four oxen, to send a Mission with four Catechists four months’ journey to the north of their own land. It is so much to be commended, when we know that the Kaffirs, as a nation, are so hostile to the Basutoes. This act of theirs brings out in bold relief their true Christian feeling. After these had spoken, Mr. W. Baker was introduced to the Synod, and pointed out to the natives the importance of a nation honouring the Bible. He illustrated this point by telling them how the Queen of England, when asked by a North American Indian to account for the greatness of Britain, pointed to the Bible, and not to her army and navy. He also congratulated the natives upon their zeal in sending the Gospel to the heathen. Kind messages were also received from the American Mission, whose delegates had been prevented from coming by illness; also from our co-worker, Major Malan, and from some friends in Cape Town. Major Bell, one of the Magistrates of the land, spoke a few encouraging words in English, which were interpreted, as well as the former speech, by the chairman.

“The reports of the Churches given mostly by Elders showed clearly that the Church in Basutoland is still a militant one. Very few cases are now to be recorded of

Christians returning to the gross practices of heathenism, and we thank God for it. Nevertheless, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we are passing through a crisis, which might easily prove fatal, were it not that the Good Shepherd is still watching over His flock, as tenderly as ever. A new *régime*, the progress of civilization, the increase of wealth, new influences, not always salutary, are amongst the many foes with which we have to fight. The members of the Churches are no more the little children of thirty years ago, docile but weak, having to be conducted with leading strings. They have grown, they have reached the age of adolescence, an age of transition, the most difficult in human life to keep under control ; and, like a young man before whom a new life bursts open, they are apt to wink at the drudgery of common duties, and overrate their rights and their strength. All this is striking among the youths. What in other Churches proves an element of energy and strength, is to us a source of trouble and great anxiety. They are few, among our people, to whom the commendation of the Apostle could be addressed : ‘ Young men, I write unto you, because you have overcome the evil one.’ We trust, however, that, the crisis once past, as the old element disappears in our Churches, and sound education is developed and spreads everywhere, the piety of our youth will be all the stronger for having passed through this painful ordeal. We despair not ; the young must be the hope of the Churches, here as elsewhere ; and among them there are surely some Samuels and Davids and Daniels and Timothys, whom the Lord has set apart for a great work.

“ A singular craving after the golden age of the forefathers with all the dark customs has seized the nation like a spirit of madness. Some cunning women, or raving brains, pretending to be inspired by the shades of departed Chiefs, declared a crusade against everything that savoured of Christianity or civilization. This has impeded the progress of the Gospel, and shut many doors against it. But the movement is subsiding rapidly, and we have no doubt but it may have done good, by stirring up the religious feelings of the nation.

“ On Saturday, the Synod was continued, when Molapo, one of the Chiefs of the country, was expected. On his arrival on horseback, with several of his councillors, the chairman went out and met him. He was dressed in ordinary European clothes. In his speech, which of course was in the native language, he referred to what had been said by Mr. Baker about the Bible having caused the greatness of Britain.

“ The verbal or written Reports were next presented, showing the state of each Church. It is satisfactory to know that the numbers of members and candidates have increased this last year, making a total of eight hundred and nine. The collections also have been very satisfactory, amounting to £415. 12s. 11*d.* (including the sum for the Banyai Mission) above that collected in the previous year. Several new out-Stations have been commenced, as well as some new chapels built. The two training schools for young men and women have progressed satisfactorily, some of the students having obtained Government Certificates.

“ The discussion after this was on the proper training of children, and the duty of parents restraining them from evil. It appears that in Africa, as well as in Europe, parents are too lax in bringing up their children whom God has entrusted to their care. After several had spoken, they were referred to what Solomon says as to the necessity, at times, of using the rod.

“ The most important matter discussed came next, which is the Home Mission work. God's Church has its various agencies and schools, in which Catechists and schoolmasters work in various ways. Some Churches have already occupied all the important places in their districts, and these are the old established ones. These generally have an income sufficient to maintain the work without applying to the Home Committee. Others of later date are still very weak in numbers, and have very large heathen districts to evangelize. These are the districts of Leribe, Cana, Matatiele, and Paballong, all of which hope to begin several out-Stations during the present year. These Churches need help in men and money; hitherto

the Home Committee have given help, but the Missionaries wish to do without it. Last year the Churches made a collection of nearly £40 for this purpose; but this year it will amount to above £100. They desire to occupy all the posts likely to serve as centres of light. —Our readers will like to know what each Mosuto Christian gives for the work of the Lord yearly. In one Church the average will be 2s., in another it reaches 9s. 7d. The average for each member and candidate is 4s. 7d. a year

“On Sunday, a grand assembly of about a thousand persons met on the hillside for public worship. It was a fine sight to see these sons and daughters of Africa seated on the grassy slope, with their gay coloured head-dresses, and many in sheepskin coats, to sing the praises of the Lord Jesus. The rocky heights of the Maluti Mountains formed a fine background to this cheering assembly. Many of the natives had come from great distances, and some had travelled miles on horseback to be present with their brethren and sisters in Christ. Women were sitting there in numbers with their babes in their arms, and many with them tied to their backs. The sun was very hot, and those who had umbrellas (we know nothing of parasols) used them. Though there was such a mixed assembly, yet there was perfect quiet during the long service. The Rev. Messrs. Cochet and Germond gave addresses in Sesuto, and the Rev. Mr. Maeder, from the Free State, spoke in English. In the afternoon, the natives again met beneath the canopy of heaven, to hear the farewell addresses of the Rev. Mr. Dieterlen and the four native Catechists who are leaving their homes and friends to go beyond the Limpopo River, to carry the Gospel to the heathen of Central Africa. This Mission has received help from the Cape Colony and Kaffraria and the Free State, including £40 from a lady in Paris, to the amount of £288. We take this opportunity of thanking Major Malan for the exertions he has made at the Cape to stir up the Churches in favour of this new Mission. The Missionaries trust that this is the best way to open up the country of Central Africa for the spread of the Gospel, especially where the climate is deadly to Euro-

peans. We trust that the friends of Mission work will pray for a blessing on this attempt of the natives to carry the Gospel to regions yet unknown. At the time of writing, they have gone many miles on the journey, and we know not what dangers they may meet. It was very cheering to receive a letter just at this time from a Mosuto Catechist, now labouring with the Swiss brethren in the Spelonke District in the Transvaal. This Mission was begun by the Churches of Basutoland. He states that the Knobnosen meet on the Lord's day to the number of sixty or seventy to hear the word of God, and the day school numbers sometimes as many as forty-three children. He tells of a Chief Likhale, who had asked for teachers. A man of his tribe, named Daniel, has been labouring earnestly for some time among his countrymen. But this very Chief has caused persecution to be waged against the infant Church. One day, when the people were coming from their little service, they found the natives outside waiting to stone them. The consequence was that this little flock suffered severely at the hands of these cruel heathen, so much so that one was not expected to live. The others fled to some farmers in the neighbourhood.

"On Tuesday, there was a great number of speeches with regard to the wagon and other necessary things for the Mission to the Banyai, in which the natives take a very deep interest, as will be seen from the following. It was found that the money already collected was insufficient. The chairman accordingly in the afternoon stated this fact to the meeting, and then occurred one of the grandest sights a Christian Missionary can witness. No plate was taken round, no stirring appeal was made, but the natives, men and women, came up to the table in crowds to bring their offerings, with smiling faces, quite delighted to give what they could to the Lord's work. This was an unexpected collection, so that some went out, not to escape giving, but to get what money they had at home, while others borrowed from the Missionaries, not secretly, that they might not miss the pleasure and honour of giving for their Saviour's cause. The collection, when counted, made up the goodly sum of £39. 14s. O, what a lesson is this

for the Christians in Europe and America, who give so sparingly of their abundance !

“In the evening, the Synod was closed by two hundred and forty joining together at the Lord’s table, to commemorate the Saviour’s dying love. What a noble sight to behold these despised Africans coming forward in such numbers, to confess their faith in Christ ! Women came up to the table with babes fastened to their backs, while people in Europe stop away for any trifling cause.

“God grant that those who read these lines may be stirred up to do more for spreading the Gospel among the heathen who are perishing by thousands without the knowledge of the Saviour’s love !

“STATISTICS OF THE YEAR 1875.

| | 1874 | 1875 | Increase | Decrease |
|-------------------------|------|----------------|--------------|----------|
| Members of the Church | 2717 | 3068 | 351 | |
| Candidates | 1185 | 1643 | 458 | |
| Baptized Adults | 295 | 297 | 2 | |
| Baptized Children | 178 | 299 | 121 | |
| Marriages | 111 | 150 | 39 | |
| Died | 15 | 49 | 39 | |
| Children in day schools | 2052 | 1830 | | 222 |
| Out-Stations | 44 | 53 | 9 | |
| European Workers | 17 | 19 | 2 | |
| Native Helpers | 67 | 80 | 13 | |
| Collections | £675 | £1,080. 12. 11 | £415. 12. 11 | |

“NOTES OF THE MONTH.

(MARCH—APRIL.)

“The false prophets are still carrying on their superstitious folly, but they are taken little notice of ; so we trust it will soon die a natural death. Previously the people were accustomed to flock to them in hundreds, but now the novelty of the thing is past. Although we still hear of their evil work, we can speak of it as a thing of the past. A friend of ours, writing to us respecting this, says : ‘The revival of Satan’s power by the false prophets of which you all write, was to me a most joyful sign of coming blessings, and I praised the Lord, when I heard of it, because it was only a sign that He was going to do great things amongst the Basuto nation. You will remember that, in almost on earth, the evil spirit threw the person down, foamed,

every instance in which our Lord cast out an evil spirit, when tate him before he departed. The rage of Satan was the certain sign of his being conquered ; and so I regard what has just happened in your Mission field. It is an answer to your prayers, an earnest blessing, and ought to be a source of joy to you all, rather than of fear and trouble.' May the good wishes of our friend come to pass ! Indeed, we have had the same thoughts, and humbly pray the Lord to show His mighty power by converting these prophets first, and then all those who have been deceived by their false teaching.

“ A new Station is to be commenced on the other side of the Drakensberg, at the Chief Lebenya's, who is one of the Basuto Chiefs of some importance that has favoured the Gospel, and has done more than the other Chiefs to forward the Mission work by word and deed, although not himself a convert. The Rev Mr. Christmann, lately arrived from Europe, is to be Lebenya's Missionary. Regarding the state of affairs in Matatiele and Paballong, one cannot but see the hand of the all-wise God in His permitting Captain Blyth to be placed as British Resident in that part of South Africa. His attachment to Missions, his zeal for pushing forward the construction and civilization of the Fingoes, where he resided before, are well known. We pray that he may be the means of doing much good to the Basutoes who have migrated to the east of the Drakensberg.

“ We are happy to hear that a great revival has taken place at the Rev. S. Hofmeyer's Station of Goedgedacht at the foot of Zoutpansberg. More than forty souls have been converted, and the work is still going on. What will show the reality of this revival is that the whole Church has been, as it were, renovated, and its members have gone in all directions to carry the Gospel to the ignorant ones. Some have travelled along the broad and long range of the Zoutpansberg, others have journeyed to the villages along the Limpopo River, others have actually undertaken to go as far as the tribe under that great rain-maker, the Queen Motyatye.

“ We hear with pleasure that the American Missionaries

of Natal have, through the London Society's Missionaries in Matebeleland, received from the Chief of that country permission to pass through it, in order to reach the country of the Bamozila to the N.E. of the Limpopo, where they are about to form a new Mission.

“At Thaba Bosigo, on the 9th of March, several adults were baptized: among them was the first wife of the Chief Masopha.

“The two Training Schools of Morija and Thaba Bosigo have reopened for the winter session with nearly the same number of pupils. Mr. W. Baker, just arrived from England, has already commenced his duties as English Teacher in the Morija Training School. He is sure to prove a very valuable addition to the Missionary staff in Basutoland.

“Although we do not generally speak on political matters, yet it may be permitted us to write against some glaring paragraphs which from time to time find their way into the colonial papers, and which are written by alarmists who do not sufficiently weigh their words. It has been stated again and again that the Basutoes were preparing for war with the British Government. Every one living amongst the natives knows that the ease of obtaining guns at the Diamond Fields has created among all the natives of South Africa a gun fever. The Basutoes, as well as others, have bought many guns; but he that puts forward a statement, merely grounded on this fact, that the Basutoes are preparing for war, must be blind indeed. There may be a few discontented people in Basutoland, as there are in more highly favoured and civilized regions. There may be thieves who are no longer allowed to plunder, as in some of the largest capitals of the world. There may be some Chiefs who have been stripped of their power, or are no longer at liberty to do with their people's property as they like. But there is no plan, either secret or open, of beginning a war; certainly not against the British Government, whose servants are very much appreciated by the whole of the Basuto tribe. A war might take place, if, as has been hinted lately in some colonial papers, the British Government were to hand over Basutoland to the Orange

Free State, as a compensation for the Diamond Fields. In such a case, we fear, the whole tribe would rise as one man and say: 'Let us rather perish than be quietly given over to the tender mercies of the Free State.' But such a monstrous iniquity, in this nineteenth century, cannot be perpetrated by a just and righteous nation. A tribe which has given itself to the Queen of England to be protected, the justice of England would never think of selling to a power against which it had applied for protection and dear life.

"The fact announced in the 'Christian Express,' some months ago, concerning the Chief Sekhukhune, of his having asked a German Missionary to go and reoccupy his country, is now denied. Later news speak of much uneasiness felt by the farmers who have squatted in the midst of several tribes of the Trans Vaal. Several have fled, and war and bloodshed may ensue. We trust yet that such a calamity may be averted, and that Mission-work may yet progress in the land."

CHAPTER IX.

THE NATAL DISTRICT.

BEFORE stating my own experience in connexion with the Natal Mission, I may in a few words give a brief outline of its commencement. Natal was taken by the British troops from the hostile Dutch Boers in 1842. The Rev. James Archbell accompanied the troops from the Umgazi Post on their first entry into Natal: and after the place was taken and occupied by the English, in the seaport village which was afterwards called D'Urban, Mr. Archbell was located, a small English congregation was gathered, and a temporary chapel built.

In 1846 the Mission was increased by the addition of the Rev. W. J. Davis and John Richards. Mr. Davis remained in the Bay, and Mr. Richards proceeded to Pietermaritzburg, which was the seat of government. Thither Mr. Archbell also removed. The Rev. James Allison, who had been driven out of the Amaswazi country by the hostile action of opposing natives, brought a number of those people who had embraced the Gospel and fled before the face of persecution, and located them at Indaleni, not far from Pietermaritzburg Bay.

In the early part of 1847, the writer joined the Mission, being stationed in the Bay, (D'Urban,) Mr. Davis moving up to the Swaartkops Location near Pietermaritzburg. My connexion with the Mission took place under somewhat peculiar circumstances. I was previously stationed at Cradock in the Cape Colony, about two hundred miles from Port Elizabeth, when a removal to Natal was arranged. I went to the annual District Meeting held in Graham's Town in January, not having any thought of going to Natal. A Missionary was wanted for that place; but when the meeting was far advanced no man was found willing to go. Suddenly Mr. Shaw turned to me and said,

"Brother Holden, I have my eye upon you for Port Natal." My reply was, "I hope you will soon have it somewhere else, Sir." Again, with increased emphasis, he said, "Brother Holden, I have my eye upon you for Port Natal;" to which I made answer that there were reasons against my going which did not exist in any other case. He then added that if I would go, and did not wish to remain there permanently, I should be allowed to return to that District in three years. This appeal was strongly urged by the united voice of the other brethren, until at length I began to fear lest by further refusal I might be opposing the will of God, and so gave a reluctant consent. The idea of this removal cost me the most intense mental anguish for a long time; and it was only by doing the utmost violence to my feelings that I was enabled to carry out the arrangement.

I returned to Cradock, and with my wife and family made arrangements for our departure as speedily as possible. But the difficulty of journeying at that time was more than ordinarily great, arising out of the disturbed state of the country; a Kaffir war raging at the time, and making travelling dangerous. This rendered it needful for us to take a long circuitous route round by "Salt Pans Neck," in order to get to the Bay, Port Elizabeth, the place of embarkation. This journey occupied three weeks, during which time we had to live in the wagons.

I will only relate one incident among many which happened on this journey. We had two bullock wagons, with spans of twelve oxen each; the one to live in, the other to carry our baggage. When we had proceeded about two days from Cradock, we had to ascend a lofty mountain, the path up which was execrable. Rain came on, so that after one travelling wagon had been dragged up the mountain, the other wagon could not be got up, although both spans of oxen were put on. Thus the wagons were separated, one remaining at the bottom of the mountain, the other at the top. The rain continued for three days, during which time nothing could be done. This is the sort of thing to try the temper and courage of a lady. Shut up in a tent wagon with three little children for three

days, having no house to take refuge in ; the wind and rain beating pitilessly and unceasingly upon us whilst on the mountain summit ; the wearing apparel and bed-clothes getting wet ; the children fretting and crying because they cannot get out, despite Mr. Wesley's philosophy, and Mrs. Wesley's too ; the poor ox-leader having no wood to make a fire to cook the food, and the cow-dung which he uses as a substitute being wet and unwilling to burn ; the food uncooked, or, if cooked at all, too smoked and badly served up, with everything so wet and sticky that you can hardly eat it when it does make its appearance ; and all this for three days ;—this is part of the romance of Missions.

In the midst of these charming scenes we beheld a troop of baboons descend from the lofty peak of an adjoining mountain. This troop was led on in single file by a gentleman who walked as stately as a baboon-king ; his lofty bearing was that of one " having authority." They advanced steadily towards the wagon, and assumed a threatening aspect : had they attacked us in our defenceless position, they could have torn us to pieces quickly. This was a time for prayer as well as confidence. Baboons are very well in their own wild haunts or when confined in a cage, but are by no means agreeable foes when a man and his family are at their caprice or mercy. It may be said that a baboon is a despicable foe : a lion, or a tiger, or an elephant is a beast to fight or to fear ; but what of a baboon ? One of these " despicable animals " is quite enough for a man if he has not a gun or some other powerful weapon ; and if you are killed, there is not so much difference between the ponderous tread of the elephant, the savage rage of the lion, or the sharp teeth of the baboon. But a gracious Providence interposed. After advancing some distance towards us, the baboon army turned aside into a bushy ravine close by. I have always found that if you can fix your gaze steadily upon the eye of a wild beast or a savage man, he cannot bear the cool steady look of the human eye. The probability is, that had we manifested fear or attempted to molest them, the consequences would have been serious : but I stood on the wagon unmoved,

with my eye fixed upon them, until they turned aside, and we were safe.

After three weeks of toil and travel and danger we arrived safely at Port Elizabeth, and in a few days embarked on board the "Mazeppa," a schooner bound for Natal. A gale rose directly we were out of the Bay, but the wind being fair drove us rapidly onward, so that on the evening of the third day we dropped anchor in the fatal roads, outside the bar. But the gale which drove us up so quickly not only raised a heavy sea rolling across the bar, but the bar itself, being shifting sand, was greatly changed, making the entrance impossible.

On the Sunday morning we were preparing for a short service, a lady friend being with us, when we heard great commotion on deck. I went up to ascertain the cause, and found that they had just slipped the cable, so as to give the vessel greater play to stand against a heavy sea which was seen rolling up in the distance. This was no sooner done than the captain tied the helm, closed down the hatchway over us, and all the crew flew to the rigging. This was scarcely effected when a tremendous sea struck the vessel broadside: the sound and sensation were as though she had been fired on by a park of artillery, or come in sudden contact with a solid mountain of ice, not with a yielding fluid like water. This single stroke broke her bulwarks, swept clean one side of the deck, smashed at the top of the companion over our heads, sent down a sea into our cabin, and buried us for the time being beneath the water. The vessel seemed like a shuttlecock on the sea: she literally reeled to and fro like a drunken man; every plank and bolt and pin in her seemed to crack and spin and shake. It was an awful moment: we stood in silence to see whether we were to be at once submerged in the mighty deep, or whether we were to live. God interposed: the ship righted herself, rose to the surface, and we were delivered.

This, however, was not the end of our trials or dangers. We got out to sea, but had to remain sailing about for *seven days*; the surf being so heavy as not to allow a boat to come off to us or the ship to enter. At length, the cap-

tain being weary of waiting, and the stock of provisions being exhausted, he resolved to make the attempt to take her in without pilot or help; but she grounded on the bar. The breakers were strong, and now dashed over the other side of the vessel in terrible fury. The sailors at once lightened the ship by throwing overboard such things as were at hand: after which she got into deep water again, and so "there was a great calm."

On landing we took possession of the Mission House, which was pleasantly situated at the head of the Bay, in the midst of the most luxuriant vegetation. It had been vacated by the last family a short time, and as there was great humidity in the atmosphere and much decayed vegetable matter around, it was not very agreeable. But the worst part of the affair was the large number of serpents and rats which had congregated, and seemed to hold a grand carnival there. The house, or cottage, was rather prettily built, with thatched roof and a verandah; the rooms being ceiled with calico. The eaves of the roof afforded dormitories for the serpents and rats; and as soon as the darkness of evening came on, the four-legged animals began to scamper about on the ceiling, whilst the creatures that crawl on their bellies pursued them with great swiftness, seized their prey,—a squeal was heard, and all was quiet. This taking place on the calico ceiling above our heads made the flesh creep a little on the bones of some of our company. The worst part of it was, at night when we had to retire to what should be rest, with these venomous beasts above our heads or in the walls by our side, after getting to sleep with difficulty, we were roused up by these unmerciful tormentors. I frequently killed serpents both inside the house and outside; but will not stop to record my exploits, except in one instance. One evening, upon going into the kitchen about eight o'clock, I found that the Hottentot servant girl was lying asleep on the floor, and, to my great horror, a night adder was just crawling over her chest and face. I stood, if not petrified, yet with intense emotion, watching the loathsome creature until it had passed over her breast and face. Happily she did not move, and was not bitten. I then chased the

creature, and killed it in a corner of the kitchen. In these various ways we were made to experience the protecting care and delivering goodness of Almighty God.

Natal at that time was not the Natal of to-day, and D'Urban of to-day is not what it then was. The geographical position is the same, and the general outlines of the country are but little altered; but in other respects the intelligence and enterprise of man have made great changes. At that time there were a few thatched cottages embowered in the richest herbage. These were made of poles and wattles, with clay walls, having verandahs to protect them; and being whitewashed they peeped out prettily among the shrubbery. The paths to them wound amidst copse and grass: the streets were not defined, nor were substantial houses erected. A busy seaport town now occupies the site of this formerly silent, unpretentious village. There was a small chapel, built in the same style as the houses; and on my arrival I found a Society of twelve English members, a congregation of forty or fifty persons, and a small Sabbath school. How great the change! Emigration set in; a few thousands of intelligent, enterprising Englishmen arrived, and the whole face of things was changed. The names of the vessels in which they came, and the number of persons in each vessel, are given in my "History of Natal." Only twenty short years have passed away, and the energy and push of the Anglo-Saxon race have built a town, established commerce, compelled the earth to yield up its riches, created an export trade, and freighted many a ship. The laws and institutions of England have been transplanted to this foreign soil, and flourish here as if of indigenous growth; and, above all, the language, the literature, and the religion of England have found, not a lodging place, but a *home*, and promise to cause "the wilderness to become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field to be counted for a forest."

VERULAM.—It fell to my lot to be the founder and father of this rising village and settlement; both in relation to obtaining the land and locating the people, and supplying religious ordinances. Long before emigration or the "King William" had been heard of in reference to Natal.

I had ridden through this country, when "about my" Master's "business;" seeking to save those who were lost. At that time the dwelling of a civilized human being was far distant; the grass was very high; nature luxuriated in romantic grandeur; wild animals were numerous, and the birds with their rich plumage gave animation and beauty to the scene. But an air of desolation pervades the richest country when civilized or busy man is not there; and I often asked, "Why this magnificent waste? Is this beautiful country not made to support human beings who in other places perish for lack of food?" There were many natives in the country around; but though they *occupied* the country, they did not "*subdue* it."

After emigration had set in, the emigration agents applied to the Government for this tract of country, but were refused. But when the emigrants by the "King William" arrived, I found that these were not only highly respectable persons, but many of them officers and members of the Wesleyan Church; and, knowing the extreme difficulties which many of the emigrants had before they could occupy their locations, I suggested that they should apply for this tract of country. Accordingly a memorial to Government was drawn up in the Mission House, and was successful. Mr. Irons, Mr. Champion, and myself rode out to select the site of the town, and as quickly as possible the people moved on to it. They had to endure much privation, whilst waiting in the Bay. Government had made no provision for their reception and accommodation. So, to afford some relief, I put a number of families into the new chapel that was then in course of erection, and some in rooms on my own premises; thus screening them from exposure to the elements as far as circumstances would allow.

As the Minister and Pastor, I visited them shortly after their arrival at their location. They had a large marquee given them by the Earl of Verulam, after whom the settlement was named. Many families were grouped in this large tent; and it happened to be wet at the time of my first visit. The marquee did very well for fine weather; but when it rained, the water came through freely, so that it was with some difficulty that they found dry spaces on

which to place their beds. I shared the common difficulty; for, having obtained the loan of a mattress for a single person, I had some trouble in finding a spot on which to lay it; but, having succeeded, I put some sticks under to keep it from the damp ground and placed my saddle for a bolster. Borrowing a pillow and a blanket, I spent my first night in Verulam as well as I could.

By the time of my next visit they had so far succeeded in the erection of houses that Mr. Garland had one room which I could occupy, having a piece of calico nailed for the window, instead of glass. But all appeared busy, hearty, and happy: every thing was very rough and rude, but they were people who "meant to succeed." In order to avoid breaking the course of my narrative, I will continue it in connexion with Verulam in the order of events, and will return to some matters of interest connected with other places at a future page.

The first entry I found in my journal in reference to Verulam is under date, "August 29th, 1850."—"We" (I and my interpreter, as we visited several Kaffir congregations on this tour) "then rode on to Verulam. I visited many of the people, and in the evening preached to a good congregation. After service we arranged for a Sabbath school to commence on the following Sabbath; also for the erection of a temporary chapel, to be built by the people, each giving a few days' work. I could not get to bed until twelve o'clock, and was very weary. Rose at dawn of day on the following morning; breakfasted at a friend's house, and by about seven o'clock we were again in our saddles to go and hold service at the kraal of Moses, a Christian Kaffir. We rode down the course of the Umhloti River, crossing it several times, and then ascended a high hill, up the steep side of which it was hard climbing; but, having attained the summit, the prospect all around was charming. At our feet the Umhloti River was pouring a fine stream along the valley. On our left Verulam was seen rising on the hill, its cottages and gardens showing that it had become the abode of active, civilized man, where before only wild luxuriance had reigned. To our right the stream was gliding along in calm beauty, the rich foliage reaching down

to its bed, until it poured its crystal waters into the Indian Ocean, which broke in large expanse before the eye. Truly the whole pronounced 'their Maker God.' We are rapidly gliding down the stream of time into the boundless ocean of eternity."

Thus the arrangement was made for the erection of the first chapel, and the establishment of the first Sabbath school; religious institutions running parallel with the course of life, and forming the basis on which Verulam was built. No wonder that two other ecclesiastical structures should have succeeded this first humble sanctuary; and that the youth, being collected and trained in the Sabbath school, when they had scarcely been an hour on African soil, should become wholly "a right seed."

I have the following account of the opening of this chapel under date, "June 14th, 1851."—"Last Saturday morning I left home for the country, and reached Verulam in the evening, having seen the Rev. H. Pearse on the way, who was to assist in opening the chapel. On Sunday morning I preached the opening sermon from Gen. xxviii. 17: 'This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' I spoke with freedom and comfort, and the attendance was good. In the evening Mr. Pearse preached, the congregation being still larger; about eighty persons were present. In the afternoon I was enabled to begin *regular Kaffir services also*. One of my own Kaffir converts was the Preacher. He preached with earnestness and effect; I gave out the hymns and read the Scriptures; many English persons were present, and appeared much interested. I have just planted a small Kaffir Church at a short distance from the town, containing ten members. What will the result be? The service was held in Mr. Barr's wagon-maker's shop: the whole was rude, but animated.

"On Monday Mr. Pearse preached in the morning and evening. About sixty persons sat down to a good tea in the chapel; after which addresses were delivered, and the service was of a very gratifying character. A debt of about three pounds was cleared off, so that the chapel might be entirely free. The building is thirty feet long and sixteen

wide in the inside. It is a strong pole building, with 7 walls; is estimated to be worth forty pounds, and by strenuous exertions of the people is free from debt. He gave a little money, and others who had not money for labour, so that the building stands as a practical proof of their attachment to the Saviour, and their determination to serve Him in the land of their adoption. This is the first chapel which has been built beyond the bounds of Urban and Pietermaritzburg."

The following entry under the same date, and in continuation of the above extract, will show still further the nature and extent of my work at the time: "On Tuesday morning I proceeded onward to Mr. Blarney's,—a distance of a few miles; gave tickets to Mr. and Mrs. Blarney, counselled and prayed with them, and arranged for preaching. We commenced there, so as to make provision for a scattered population for whom no other provision existed. I then rode on to the Tongaal River, calling at two or three places on the way. Here I met and advised with Mr. and Mrs. Marcus, who have been here about fourteen months; and, after some discouragement in reference to the country and its productions, are now in better spirits. I was glad to find they were still living to God, gave them their tickets, advised and prayed with them; and then rode on to Mr. Smith, about seven miles further, where I arrived about three o'clock P.M., having called at Verak's, a Dutch family, on the way. In the evening I preached from, 'Surely the Lord is in this place.' Afterwards gave tickets to Mr. and Mrs. Smith, who had lost some of their little ones a short time before, and were in trouble about it. Early next morning I mounted my horse and rode back to my home, a distance of forty miles,—passing through Verulam and Hobah, and doing chapel business. I reached home after sunset, very weary, but I did to preach, which I felt to be a trial, as I was much tired."

My next entry is, "September 18th."—"On Saturday night I set out on one of my country tours. On Sunday morning preached to the English at Hobah, and at the close of the service renewed tickets to the members of the

Society. As soon as this was done, I preached to the Kaffirs; a good number of the heathen were present in addition to the Station people. I then took a hasty dinner at Mr. Walton's, and rode on to Verulam, where I arrived about five o'clock P.M., took tea, and began the English service at six o'clock; after which I administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but was too weary to derive personal pleasure or profit from the services."

On the Monday I went forward to Mr. Smith's, and performed a similar course of duty to that recorded on my last visit. On "Tuesday I returned to Verulam, preached to the Kaffirs in the afternoon, and gave tickets to the Kaffir members. In the evening I preached again in English, and met the two English Classes for tickets.

"On Wednesday morning I went down to the Kaffir Station, where Moses resides, at the mouth of the Umhloti, had a large attendance of Kaffirs, preached to them, and afterwards met the Class and gave tickets. I was glad to find that one Kaffir woman on trial had obtained the pardon of her sins a short time before and was happy in God. After this I returned to Verulam, and had a meeting until a late hour. Thursday I returned home, holding Kaffir services at Hobah on the way. Arrived very weary."

The last record which I insert is under "June 12th, 1852."—"Arrived at Verulam about dark, and was kindly entertained at Mr. Groom's, who, amidst the roughness of early colonial life, gave me the best fare his unfinished house would afford."

On the Sabbath morning I preached on the subject of the Sabbath, setting forth its Divine institution and universal obligation, with its beneficial design as a day of "rest" and of "holy consecration." In the evening I preached from 2 Peter iii. 14. It was a solemn and, I trust, profitable service.

"In the afternoon the Kaffir congregation was so large that we had to take the English chapel instead of the Kaffir, which was Mr. Barr's shop, in order to accommodate the congregation. I baptized five Kaffir adults and four children; also the child of Mr. James Staunton, one of our English Local Preachers. This was the first

and only instance in which black and white have been baptized in the same service, and was doubly interesting to me on that account; the more so as, if the whites do not feel contempt for the blacks, they have mostly strong prejudices against them. Many English were present. I solemnly asked the adult Kaffirs if they would lay aside all heathen practices, as well as the pomps and vanities of this present wicked world; which they solemnly promised to do. They were all married. The husband of one woman had been baptized some time before, and now, the wife being baptized, I baptized also the child. The other four were, two men and two women, one couple having one child, and the other three children. The adults knelt whilst the ceremony was performed; and it was a solemn and gratifying sight to see parents and children thus solemnly received into the Christian Church, and taking the vows of God upon them. I thought this was a fit and proper illustration of the apostolic practice of baptizing believing parents with their households; and I know not why the natural course of events should be arrested or denied in order to uphold the dogma of adult baptism alone by immersion."

On this tour I not only performed my usual course of itinerant travelling and religious duties, but also went on a visit to the Rev. Aldin Grout's Mission Station on the Umvoti; he being one of the oldest Missionaries in the land connected with the American Board of Foreign Missions. "I was gratified with all I saw, especially the large native chapel, which was nearly completed. There are forty-five Church members, and a large congregation and school."

The following letter from the Rev. John Allsopp, which appeared in the "Wesleyan Missionary Notices" for November, 1876, contains the latest account of the Mission at Verulam, and discloses a delightful consummation to my early toils and anxieties in connexion with this people. Many were the difficulties, perplexities, and trials which arose in "bringing them out of the bush," and planting them as a small Christian Church at Verulam; but the results are glorious. To God be all the praise!

“ Verulam, August 22nd, 1876.—I think it may interest you and perhaps the readers of the ‘ Missionary Notices ’ to hear of a large native meeting recently held here. Last year, the first, of meetings to be held yearly, was held at Edendale, and it is desired to hold them each year on our Stations in rotation.

“ The name just chosen for the gathering is, ‘ *Unzondelelo* ; ’ and the natives assure me that it contains within itself all that is expressed by Paul in, ‘ Brethren, my heart’s desire and prayer to God,’ &c. (Rom. x. 1.) You will see, therefore, that the first object of these gatherings is to extend the Redeemer’s kingdom amongst the heathen of this land. All the sessions of the Conference (for such it really is) are conducted or presided over by one of their number chosen by themselves, but always giving the pre-eminence to the Missionary, when he is present.

“ On Sunday morning, the 6th instant, a meeting for prayer was held at an early hour, and during the day three sermons were preached by three of the native brethren from Edendale. On the following day two prayer-meetings and a preliminary sitting of a few of the leading men were held. Of these days I cannot say anything, being confined to my room by influenza and fever.

“ On Tuesday, after a morning prayer-meeting, I was invited to formally open the Conference. Never can I forget the joy of that hour. The Lord was graciously and powerfully present during the prayer and my address, and we indeed felt our spiritual strength renewed. On Wednesday several discussions of an interesting character were conducted by the natives alone, and a sermon preached in the evening. On Thursday Mr. Nuttall and Mr. Chaplin, with myself, met the Conference, to discuss the subject of the custom *ukulobola*, or sale of wives ; but through a misunderstanding as to the action of our last District Meeting we could not come to any conclusions. During an evening sitting I sent a message, which had the effect of keeping them until near midnight, and the next morning I was requested to attend. The matter was fully discussed, and the meeting decided that the custom is an evil, and must be abandoned ; but with the present laws of Natal the

iving of it up could not be made compulsory. With this fully agree ; but urged the men to give it up, and then stand behind us (the Missionaries) in urging the Government to give the protection needed by the daughters of Christian men, who, for conscience sake, throw aside this custom of heathenism. During other sittings questions such as these were discussed :—Which is the best way to reach so as to win souls ? Are we doing all we can to destroy the belief in witchcraft and other heathen superstitions ? Are we doing all we ought to carry the Gospel to the heathen ? On Saturday, as the result of these conversations, a collection was made amongst themselves, amounting to £100. 6s. ; a part of which is to pay a Native Preacher to go to a tribe about one hundred and fifty miles inland,—a people without a Missionary, and looking for the Gospel. Is not this a reward for Mission toil ? A people proving the joys of salvation eagerly longing to reach it to those who still sit in darkness !

“ Sunday, the 13th, was a day never to be forgotten. At seven A.M. a prayer-meeting. At eleven o'clock a sermon by one of the oldest Native Preachers from 2 Tim. 7 ; and I say not too much when I speak of it as one of the most eloquent and powerful sermons I ever listened to. In the afternoon I preached from Mark xiii. 34, and administered the Lord's Supper to the largest number of natives I have ever seen assembled at one time. It was truly a season of great delight. In the evening one of the ordained Native Ministers of the American Missions preached a sound and faithful sermon. The next morning, at seven o'clock, all met in the chapel, to commend each other to the grace of God and say their farewells ; and thus ended eight days of the most blessed meetings I ever attended, and from which good to all our Churches must result.”

PIETERMARITZBURG.—My notice of this town will be brief, as it was not the place of my residence : I only visited it occasionally. The Rev. John Richards commenced preaching there in the early part of 1846 ; being *the first and only* Minister conducting Divine worship in the *English language*. The Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church had been there

some time, and a church was erected, which was kindly lent for the use of the English congregation until a chapel could be built. The Wesleyan congregation took steps to erect a chapel as quickly as possible, which was opened in 1849. My journal gives the following account: "January 4th, 1849.—Last Sabbath I was engaged in preaching the first sermon on opening the Pietermaritzburg chapel, according to previous arrangement. It is a substantial building, fifty feet long, by twenty-five feet wide, inside. The congregation was good, the chapel being tolerably filled. Among those present were,—the Governor, the Secretary to Government, the Judge, the Surveyor General, Dr. Stueyer, the Commissioner of the Natives, and other officials. I found it needful to look to God for help to save me from the fear of man, and was Divinely assisted whilst I explained and applied Psalm lxxviii. 11: 'Thou hast ascended on high.' The collection was upwards of £12.

"The Rev. Mr. Dohne, of the Dutch Reformed Church, preached in the afternoon in the Dutch language, when many coloured persons were present, in addition to Europeans. The Rev. W. J. Davis preached in the evening in English; but I was unable to hear him, having to take the service for the natives. The whole collections were £17 10s which was made up to £20 afterwards."

The cause was largely extended upon the arrival of the emigrants. Good had been done before, but then religion became widely felt in its beneficent power. A number of the emigrants were confirmed Methodists before leaving England; and among them there were some valuable Local Preachers and Class Leaders. The work was thus consolidated, whilst at the same time it acquired greater force. York, Ladismith, Lidgetton, and other places became new centres of power and action; whilst in Maritzburg a new and larger chapel was required. This was erected during the superintendency of the Rev. Horatio Pearse. From that time the work has steadily progressed. Ladismith has become a separate Circuit, having a Minister resident there. York also has taken the status of a separate Circuit with its own regular Minister.

D'URBAN.—I now return to D'Urban, the seaport town, and the scene of my own labours; confining my present

notice of it to the English work, as the native will be considered in a separate chapter. For some years after my arrival in Natal I was the only Minister resident in D'Urban. Consequently all persons religiously disposed, whether Episcopalians or Nonconformists, attended my Ministry, and I performed for them the duties of a Pastor. Differences in doctrine and Church organization were not brought prominently forward in my ministrations, so that all went on harmoniously. Those who were *actual members* of other Churches, whether in England or elsewhere, were admitted to the communion of the Lord's table; and in some instances they rendered such aid, in the Sunday school and other ways, as their circumstances enabled them to do. In process of time an Episcopalian Minister arrived, and those who belonged to the Episcopal Church formed a separate congregation. After a while the Independents and Presbyterians so far increased by immigration that by their united efforts they were able to maintain a Minister, and accordingly established their own Church organization, and conducted their own worship according to their own views and wishes. In all this there was no contention or unkind feeling. "The unity of the Spirit" was kept "in the bond of peace." Natal, which has since become so notorious as the scene of unhallowed strife in connexion with Dr. Colenso and the Episcopal Church, then knew nothing of discord or heart-burnings, so far as the Bay was concerned.

In 1849, a touching event occurred, which an extract from my journal will best explain: "September 29th, 1849.—Two days ago an encouraging event transpired. Mr. Billingham, the son of one of our wealthy London members, and brother of a firm in Port Elizabeth, arrived in a vessel, in a state of extreme debility,—consumption having wasted his frame, and brought it to the borders of the grave. On Sunday I heard of his arrival, but in the early part of the week could not visit him, being obliged to go to my country Stations. But on Thursday morning I went, and found his mortal frame wasted to a skeleton, and his mind in a state of darkness, perplexity, and sorrow. I directed him to the Saviour; urging him to come as he was, and look for present pardon through faith in the blood of Christ. He said he would try. In the evening, whilst lying on his

bed, he 'found Him of whom Moses in the law and the Prophets did write.' He was made happy in the pardoning love of God, and called a friend, to tell him of what God had done for his soul. I visited him again on the following morning, but was delighted to find that a gracious change had passed over him; his guilt and sorrow were gone, the fear of death was removed, and a spirit of calm resignation imparted. I devoutly thank God for this new display of His saving power, and hope this may be the first of many who may be saved in this place. May God pour out His Spirit!" The young man returned to Port Elizabeth, continued happy, and shortly afterwards died in the Lord.

As the cause gradually acquired strength, a new chapel was required. This was *before the addition made to our numbers by emigration*. Difficulties beset our path. Up to that time no building had been erected stronger than poles, wattles, and mud; but we wanted something better. In attempting to erect a substantial building of brick and stone, as there was nothing but sand on which to lay the foundation, we were afraid that a house so built would "fall." But we were resolved to make the experiment; and *the first substantial building in D'Urban, Port Natal, was a Methodist chapel*. The trouble of this erection was to me immense, as only a small portion of the contributions was in money; labour, materials, and carriage being generally contributed. In the dearth of assistance, I had to take the oversight of these things myself, and a more harassing and trying work I was never engaged in. George Christopher Cato, Esq., laid the foundation stone, and afforded very considerable aid in the erection. All difficulties being surmounted, the chapel was opened for Divine worship in May, 1850. My journal contains the following record of the opening services: "May 13th, 1850.—Yesterday was a day to be remembered in Natal Methodism. Our new chapel was publicly dedicated to the worship of God. I commenced the morning service by singing and prayer and reading the Scriptures. The Rev. Daniel Lindley, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, then preached an admirable sermon from Psalm xxvii. 4: 'One thing have I desired of the Lord,' &c.; and in the evening the Rev. H.

Pearse took as his text Genesis xxxv. 3. The chapel was crowded on both occasions; the services were of a highly gratifying nature, and the collections good. On the Monday evening a tea-meeting was held, and was well attended; and at the public meeting afterwards the addresses were animating and encouraging. The chapel is a neat, substantial brick building, well plastered, and as chaste as any I have seen of the kind, either in Africa or England. It is fifty feet long and twenty feet wide inside, lofty and well ventilated. Much difficulty has been overcome in its erection, and I trust it will be made a great blessing to the place."

"On the same day the old chapel was opened for the use of the natives, and was nearly filled with the Kaffir and coloured congregation. The Rev. W. Posselt, of the Berlin Missionary Society, from New Germany, preached in Kaffir in the afternoon, and in Dutch in the evening. Four pounds were collected, which was a large amount, considering the state of the people. *For more than two years I had been compelled to hold my native services in the open air; so that it is no small acquisition, both to me and the people, to have a chapel in which to worship. Our school operations especially have been much retarded by having no room in which to conduct them; the green plot of ground at the back of my house having been used for this purpose.*

"Many emigrants are now arriving from England,—Methodists among them, who were highly delighted to find that in leaving England they had not left their religious privileges behind them, and were not obliged to inhabit a wilderness where these privileges could not be obtained. This greatly altered the aspect of their affairs, and imparted much cheerfulness. *The fact of a religious, Methodist home being in the land, allied it very nearly with the land of their fathers.*"

On the last day of this year the Rev. Calvert Spensley and Joseph Gaskin arrived from England; of which event I have the following record in my journal: "January 2nd, 1851.—On the last day of the old year," (1850,) "the brethren Spensley and Gaskin arrived from England, and assisted in our Watch-night, which was a solemn and pro-

fitable service." In the last quotation from my journal I gave an account of the opening of our new chapel: I now append a "Plan" of the D'Urban Circuit at the close of 1850, the time when these two new Ministers arrived. From this Plan, which was put into the hands of these Ministers on their arrival, it will appear that *the Circuit, both in the English and Native departments, was regularly organized and fully worked*. There were five English congregations, four Kaffir congregations, and one coloured congregation. There were fourteen English Local Preachers, six Kaffir Local Preachers, and two coloured Exhorters. There were also 133 Church members, besides many on trial. These congregations and operations were extended over a considerable part of the country and carried on with vigour.

I mention these facts the more particularly because some misapprehension has existed relative to the state of the D'Urban Circuit when these two brethren arrived. The facts are simply given without exaggeration, as the "Plan" was made before their arrival.

At Pietermaritzburg, also, the Rev. John Richards (since General Superintendent of the Calcutta Mission) rendered good service; *erected the first chapel*, and carried on the work under considerable difficulties. He had left some time before, but his name was gratefully cherished by many of the people.

The D'Urban chapel, which was opened on May 13th, 1850, was so built as to admit of a gallery being erected across the end of it; which, from the increased congregation, was soon required. The chapel was re-opened on April 4th, 1851, nearly twelve months after the opening. My journal of that date says: "Our new chapel is now completed, and with a gallery erected is a very neat, substantial edifice. It will seat two hundred people, and has cost £800; towards which upwards of £400 has been obtained. On Sunday last I preached in the morning from 1 Chron. xxix. 3: 'I have set my affection to the house of my God.' The Rev. Mr. Wilder, of the American Mission, preached a good and useful sermon in the evening, from, 'For God so loved the world.' The congregations were good and the collections liberal.

“ On Monday evening a public tea-meeting was held in the old chapel. About one hundred and thirty took tea; after which they adjourned to the new chapel. In addition to the stirring addresses delivered, several pieces of sacred music were performed with good effect by the choir; and the meeting was in every respect a success. Christian kindness and cordiality prevailed, and the financial results were greater than could have been anticipated; about £40 being realized.”

In the course of the year I was removed from D’Urban, Natal, to the Graham’s Town District, on the frontier of the old colony, whence I went to Natal some six years before. My sojourn at Natal during this period, in the D’Urban Circuit, was marked by unceasing labour, great anxieties, and much success. Every effort was made by the Quarterly Meeting and the congregation to secure my services for a longer period; but it was thought desirable that a change should take place. I left under the influence of strong attachment to many of the people, and gratitude to God for His help and blessing. The changes which had taken place amongst the people, in their material, social, and religious advancement, during this period, were such as cannot be fully realized by any description.

In bringing these historical notices of the Natal District to the year 1876, it is not needful to detail the course of operations which have been carried on since 1852. It is enough to say that the work then commenced and organized has continued to expand, increase, and develope, until it has attained large proportions and puts forth considerable force. There are at this time *six* Ministers occupying the ground which I worked alone, so far as one man was capable of working it. “ In Natal the Wesleyan Missionary Society’s operations are carried on in 12 English and Native Circuits, besides a Mission to the Indian Coolies. The latest returns for the District show 43 chapels, besides other preaching-places, 17 Missionaries, 34 Catechists and Teachers, 114 Local Preachers, 1,554 Church members, with 308 on trial, 1,536 Sabbath scholars, 1,162 day scholars, and 22,039 attendants on public worship.” Truly may it be said, “ What hath God wrought ! ”

CHAPTER X.

CONVERSION WORK AMONG THE NATAL AND AMAZULU KAFFIRS.

IN this last chapter I must bespeak the patience of the reader somewhat, whilst I enter into a little more detail as to my own labours, anxieties, and successes, among the races of Natal and Amazulu Kaffirs. The last chapter related almost solely to the English work of the Wesleyans in Natal; but as there were many thousands of natives, and I was permitted to be the honoured instrument in bringing many of these to a "knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus," and as I did not in this respect enter into "another man's line of things," but had to *commence and create* the work, I may be allowed a little latitude in the account of that work. If anything had been done previously among the natives in and around the village of D'Urban, it had so entirely passed away that not a vestige of it remained. I had to begin *de novo*, and to obtain the material by which to commence the work.

I am aware that the title of this chapter is a startling one, but I make it advisedly. I am aware that some utterly deny the fact of the conversion of Kaffirs, and that many others take every occasion to represent Mission work as unsuccessful. From such we would only ask *the same amount of credence* on this subject as is admitted *upon the same evidence* upon other subjects. But upon this topic they often refuse to acknowledge the evidence which they admit to be conclusive upon other matters. We cannot greatly wonder at this; for an inspired authority has said that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Hence many objectors lack the spiritual ability to form a correct opinion upon the subject upon which they pronounce so authoritatively and dogmatically. They are not them-

selves converted, and consequently cannot possibly form a right judgment as to conversion work among others. They lack even the first requisite for a correct opinion, namely, *sympathy* with the work. Their sympathies lie all in some other direction ; the Missionary and his work are the most distant or the most despicable in their estimation. Perhaps money-making, advancement, or power is that which absorbs their minds, enlists their sympathies, and calls forth all their energies. If some such should turn from the subject of this chapter with disdain, or pity for the weakness of the author, it will not occasion surprise ; but the knowledge of this possible treatment does not deter the writer from his task. As to my claim to respectful consideration, it rests upon an experience of *thirty-six years*’ living and labouring among Kaffirs in the frontier of the Cape Colony and in Natal. I have confidence in scriptural statements and principles, in my own conversion, and in being able to form some definite opinion as to the conversion of the heathen, when attended by a reasonable amount of proof. Nor do I think that I am easily imposed upon by the false professions of others, or that I am disposed to give exaggerated statements. These qualifications constitute a claim to be allowed to speak and write with confidence upon the conversion of Kaffirs, and will be brought into exercise throughout the pages of this chapter.

In my last work, on “the Kaffir Races,” I laid down as a basis the competence of the Kaffir for improvement and elevation, and not only reasoned out the position, but established it by many incontrovertible facts. But this reasoning related rather to his natural abilities, and the effect of suitable and well tried action upon his nature. I am now treating of his *spiritual capacity*,—the adaptation and capability of his nature to understand and receive spiritual and saving truths. It was said concerning that work that it was a complete refutation of the views advanced by scientific anthropologists : but here I take other ground entirely, and maintain the position that the *soul* of a barbarian Kaffir is capable of receiving the truth of God’s word, when fairly propounded to it ; that the

Kaffir can submit his judgment, will, affections, and life to the word and Spirit of God ; can receive the peace and love of God, be animated by true and lively hopes of future eternal happiness, and continue in this course to his life's end. I purpose to sustain this position by numerous well attested illustrations and facts. We are continually told that "it is all very well to instruct and civilize the natives, but that it is absurd to attempt to propound the mysteries of religion to their dark and untutored minds." Now, I shall prove in this chapter, so far as evidence is capable of proving, all that I have advanced, and show that those who make such statements are in error.

But, if unconverted men are not competent to form a correct opinion upon spiritual work, on what are they capable of forming an opinion? Do we exclude their evidence altogether? No; they are capable of forming an opinion upon the outward acts of those who profess to be saved persons; and I maintain that if these acts are in accordance with God's word, the objector is bound to admit the conclusiveness of my positions. But I have another word of explanation. *Civilization* is a very general term, and needs definition. Unconverted men can form some opinion upon this subject. But even here the criterion is often unfair and unjust. *They set up their own standard of civilization, and form their judgment according to that standard.* This is manifestly unfair; for, according to their standard, square houses and European furniture are amongst the first things they require; but these are amongst the last in the Kaffir estimation. This point is reasoned upon at length in my last book, and can only be hinted at here. *Utility* is that which is appreciable by the Kaffirs: but elegant furniture and square houses have no utility to them,—are not a comfort, not even a convenience: and they can only gradually get into the use of them from the force of example and newly created wants. But, take the *plough*, as opposed to the old mode of the Kaffir *pick*, and see to how great an extent the former has superseded the latter, and there you have something tangible. Or take the number of wool-growing sheep, as opposed to cattle only; or the quantity of European

clothing worn, as opposed to the former skin kaross ; or the tea, coffee, and sugar consumed, as opposed to the sour milk formerly drunk ; or the possession of wagons, which I suppose might be tabulated by hundreds, if not by thousands, as belonging almost exclusively to *Christian* natives. Here we have fair indications of advancement in real civilization ; and many would be astonished to find how widely these material tokens of steady upgrowth prevail in Kaffirland.

Let our objectors go with us through our records of conversion work, and we affirm that unless they are among the blind ones who "will not see," we shall give demonstrative proof to justify our phrase—" *conversion work among the Kaffirs.*" I had thought of selecting the points of civilization, and grouping them, in order to be seen at a glance ; but think it may be as well to let them crop up and shine out in their own natural order of development. The richness or otherwise of indigenous ore is seen and determined in this manner.

The preceding remarks apply to objectors in general ; but there are some which apply to colonists in particular. The English colonists, on their arrival from England, have not been unfavourably disposed towards the natives. But gradually, from some causes, a great change has come over many of them. Nor is this to be wondered at when the various sources of irritation and vexation to which they have been subjected are taken into consideration. The many wars, with their results, have not only produced the most disastrous effects, but, by the destruction of property and the loss of life, called into exercise all the latent unsanctified passions of the human breast. Also, the constant annoyance and loss to which the colonists are subjected in numerous flagrant robberies, murders, &c., serve to keep alive and increase feelings inimical to the natives. Besides all this, they are almost the only persons who are employed as *servants* ; and this of itself is vexatious. During my recent visit to England I heard many persons speak about the trying conduct of their servants. Sometimes I said I thought that our "blacks" were the only trying servants in the world, so

that England at least with her numerous poor must be exempted from such a trial: but I found that white servants can be troublesome as well as black; and sometimes wished that Mr. and Mrs. So-and-so, whom I knew in Africa, were only present to witness the temper and conduct of the parties complained of. Amongst the colonists this relationship, with its constant petty and serious annoyances, must exercise a very prejudicial influence on their feelings towards the natives. Notwithstanding all this, there are many converted European colonists who labour very commendably for the spiritual benefit of the natives, as Local Preachers, Class Leaders, Sunday School Teachers, &c.

Before quoting my journal, I must make a few remarks upon the journal itself. As a rule, I am not a great admirer of journals. Often there is much monotony in them; the same thing being repeated again and again, only under new forms,—the ends changed into the middle, or the middle transposed to the ends. For some time I did not think of quoting my journal at all, but merely bringing in short passages to illustrate and confirm what I advanced. But, upon more careful consideration, I judged it better to allow the journal to speak for itself; the more so, as it embraces so many particulars and brings in so much “circumstantial evidence,” which would not be brought out in the other method. At the same time I have endeavoured to avoid giving any quotations which did not state some new fact or bring out some new phase of one already stated.

I may further say that this journal was written solely for my own eye: the thought of publication never occurred to me until writing these pages. I also quote it with but little alteration. As it was not designed for publication, it was not prepared with any regard to order or literary propriety; but simply contains the dottings of my own emotions as they arose, or the record of facts and events as they transpired. I have thought it better to give them in their natural form without attempting to put them upon the bed of Procrustes, so as to stretch out those that were a little too short, or cut a piece off those that were a little

too long, in order to bring them to the uniform dimensions of critical propriety.

There will appear to be repetition upon some points; such as, the pardon of sin, the new birth, baptism, polygamy, marriage, &c. But I must beg the reader to observe that there were *five principles* which I laid down as the basis and guide of my proceedings. 1. Not to admit any person into Church membership by the ordinance of baptism upon a profession of faith in Christianity in general, but only upon professed *personal faith in Christ and actual conversion*. 2. Not to admit *any polygamist*, or person living in a state of concubinage, into Church membership. Whatever their so-called "heathen marriages" might be, they had no connexion with Christianity whatever, but were in many respects opposed and revolting thereto; and therefore I required them to be married according to Christian order and custom. 3. To allow no remaining heathen customs or ungodly practices, with the exception of their giving cattle in marriage, which it did not appear desirable or needful to remove at once, but to allow the gradual discontinuance of the practice, until *now* it has become nearly extinct. 4. To use all available means for detecting evil; and my means were large and reliable. 5. To put away evil when detected, without favour or partiality. I do not stop now to reason out the propriety or otherwise of these principles, but state them as a defined basis of action and conduct on my part for the information of the reader. It will be found that these principles run through my whole proceedings to a greater or less extent.

When a man undertakes to write about conversion work among Kaffirs, his readers have a right to be informed of the state of those of whom he writes *before conversion*. I will give some account of this in as few words as I can in reference to the Natal and Zulu Kaffirs.

When I arrived at the Bay, there was not a single Minister or Missionary within ten or fifteen miles of the village of D'Urban, for either white or black; the Wesleyan Minister having removed to Pietermaritzburg a short time before. Within that extent of country there were

thousands of Kaffirs, the kraals being numerous, and many men and boys working in the town and on the beach. But the whole were in a state of perfect barbarism. There was no religious service held for them, nor one person who made the slightest profession of Christianity. They were simply naked barbarians, living and rioting in all the abominations of heathenism. *This was the condition of all the Kaffirs.* As to "servants," they were boys so called, varying in age from fifteen to twenty-five; but they were all in nature's undress, with the exception of a few tails of wild animals hanging from the loins. Even those who were employed in European families or worked on the premises were in the same condition. These unclothed young men nursed the white children and did the cooking and washing in English families, so far as these duties were not performed by the mothers and daughters themselves. It was a rare exception to see a man with a shirt on. The Kaffir young women were in a similar state; but, as a rule, they were not allowed to come and work in the village. In the evenings these wild men had "merry times," as they assembled, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, and kept up their singing and dancing until a late hour at night or until "the small hours of the morning."

When I found myself in the midst of these degraded creatures, I felt that I was in very deed in the midst of "the valley of the shadow of death." "There were many bones lying in the open valley, and, lo, they were very dry." When I walked out, my feet sank in the deep sand; streets there were none. I thought that walking in the deep sand was strikingly indicative of the manner in which my oppressed soul sank under this heavy load of heathenism; whilst a voice sounded deeply, solemnly, and forcibly in my ears: "Son of man, can these dry bones live?" My answer was, "O Lord God, Thou knowest." "Humanly speaking, they cannot; but if Thou give the word, they shall."

What was to be done? I must either sit down in the midst of them and learn to be callous, or set about work from which poor human nature recoiled. But as I heard

the command, "Son of man, prophesy upon these bones," I had no rest. But what could I do? I could not speak their language, and I had no place in which to collect them together for instruction and worship. This was a case which admitted not of consultation with "flesh and blood:" higher and holier motives, deeper and stronger principles must be brought into action; and happily they had sway.

I applied at once for a Native Teacher, who could also act as interpreter. This man was a converted Fingoe, whom I found working in the bush with some Englishmen in the Fort Beaufort Circuit in the old Colony. Some years before, I took him for my interpreter at the Beka, and he had been subsequently sent to Natal. My request was granted, and *William Kongo* came. We at once began to collect the people together. On the Saturday we rode round to the kraals, and told them that the next day was the Sabbath, and they must come to "hear the news;" and as we had no building in which to assemble, we must hold the service out of doors. The first entry which I find in my journal is under date "July 14th, 1847" "Three Sabbath days ago we began our native service out of doors, having no place in which to meet. The first Sunday we had about fifty present, the second about one hundred, and the third about one hundred and fifty." The place where we assembled was by the wall of an old building; so that when the wind blew in one direction, we went on one side of the wall; and when it blew in an opposite direction, we went on the other side. Every Saturday we had to repeat our visits to the kraals, to inform the people that the next day was the Sabbath, and they must come. We literally went out into the "highways"—Kaffir paths—"and hedges, and compelled them to come in," being very resolute, and speaking and acting like men who "meant to succeed." We continued this course until we had an assembly of from five hundred to a thousand people. But a congregation of such barbarian wildness I have never heard of or seen in any other place. They came adorned in the highest style of heathen fashion. *Dress* they had none; of *ornaments*, a great profusion. The

men had their heads adorned with the feathers of wild birds; some short, and some long; some gay with many colours, and others dark, dull, and heavy. These were stuck in the most fantastic manner in their woolly hair. They also had a plan of working them into large bunches, which they placed sometimes in the front of the head, and sometimes at the back of the head; sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other. Some of these plumes were beautiful, composed of the richly-coloured feathers of African birds, which, when tastefully combined, made a plume of which some of the fair ladies of England might be proud. They also had a profusion of necklaces. Those of the men were mostly made of the teeth of wild animals,—wolves, tigers, wild dogs, &c.; and were supposed to answer the purpose of charms as well as ornaments. The women dealt more freely in beads for head-bands, necklaces, bracelets, and ancle ornaments, besides a large number of brass rings on the right arm, from the wrist up to the elbow. Besides these, they had strips of wild beast skins round different parts of the body and of the arms and legs; also bundles of monkey, leopard, and wild cat tails hanging from the loins downwards, dangling in the most ludicrous style. Some of these figures may be seen in the illustrations in my work on the “Kaffir Races.” The reader may suppose that when there were hundreds of these wild, nude human beings together, the sight was grotesque and, to delicate nerves, revolting. There was a peculiar oddness in seeing so many human beings in this wild state, all standing up, when we began to try our first singing, &c.; men and women, some tall and some short, youths and maidens, with their heads cropping up above their naked bodies; some laughing, some looking grave, some with an inquiring look of curiosity, and others vauntingly tossing their heads and waving their plumes and asking, “What does this man mean?”

Now, if our anthropological friends or scientific explorers would have a scene nearest to baboons and gorillas, here they have it. One gentleman, possibly belonging to that fraternity, thought it a fine opportunity: so, taking his well-trained baboon with his pole and box and stick, he put

him through a number of his gambols and grimaces just opposite where I was holding my service with these people, possibly thinking he should be able to establish the relationship between them. But my audience were too much interested to take notice of his baboon, and I was too much engaged to attend to it; so, after a time, he let the fellow rest quietly, and walked off. He did not try the experiment a second time.

Here then we have the wildest, lowest type of humanity; and if such people can be converted and give reasonable proof of their conversion, then my expression is justified,—"conversion work among the Natal and Zulu Kaffirs."

I had to begin with them as mere children, stating two or three plain truths to them at first; and then, instead of a regular sermon, on the following Sabbath, I inquired how much they could remember of what they had heard on the preceding Sabbath; repeated the lesson if they had forgotten it, and drew the line again; if they remembered aught, added another line, or made the first line deeper, broader, and longer; so as to secure some little advance in each service. At first many of them were very indifferent, and said I brought some strange things to their ears; but by degrees some of them became attentive. Thus by the end of the year, six months after the commencement, I find in my journal this entry: "December 2nd, 1847.—The native congregations are good and attentive. I have adopted the plan of asking questions in connexion with my addresses, and have been gratified with what they have been able to remember. I have also established another large native congregation about ten miles distant, where a Native Teacher is usefully employed on the Sabbath day; and if we can obtain suitable native help, I hope the time is not far distant when we shall be able to establish several native congregations, varying from three to six hundred persons in attendance."

Again, on the 26th of the same month: "We have now in this Circuit two large, interesting congregations. I find the catechetical mode of instruction the best I can adopt; and it is matter of surprise to me how much they can remember from one Sabbath to another. I suppose

there were at least three or four hundred present at the service to-day; some of whom had come a distance of ten or twelve miles; and the attention and interest they manifest are of the most gratifying kind. Truly my soul longs for their salvation."

No human being can possibly understand the deep and grateful emotions of the Christian Missionary when the first indications of spiritual life are given by a repenting heathen. "Behold, he prayeth," is a sound which sends a thrill of mingled wonder and delight through the soul. The first day of the new year 1848 supplies the following: "January 1st, 1848.—Yesterday was employed in riding round and visiting the kraals. I was glad to find one woman who had begun to seek God, and two men of the other congregation who have also begun. May these continue, and become the first-fruits of a rich harvest, which shall ultimately be 'gathered into the garner of the Lord!'"

Increased interest and action now began to appear. On the 29th of the same month another entry was made: "Polygamy is one of the greatest barriers to the spread of the Gospel amongst the natives of this country, and will be among the last evils which they will abandon. Most of the men have four or five wives, and many of them nine or ten: the 'greatness of house' depends upon the number of the wives." (See "Kaffir Races.") "But strong as may be the hold which this long-standing evil has upon them, the Gospel can destroy it. Two days ago an intelligent Kaffir came to me, who attends the country services, and lives about twelve miles distant, on whose heart the Spirit of God has begun to work, inclining him to seek and serve God; and as he had only one wife, there was no obstacle on that account. But he had been betrothed to a second whilst she was a girl, and who was now old enough for him to take, and her friends now required him to take her and 'give out the cattle;' they were so urgent as to endanger his personal safety if he refused, and he now came to advise with me as to what he must do. I was thankful to God for this additional proof of the power of the Gospel over the worst passions of human nature, and

gave him the best advice I could, telling him I would come out to his place the next day, when he must call the people together, and I would address them on the subject. He then left with me twelve shillings to purchase clothes for his *one* wife ; thus showing how certainly civilization follows in the train of Christianity. I believe nothing would have overcome his reluctance to expend money in the purchase of clothes but the influence of religion on the heart. Their love of money is strong, so that they may buy cattle to purchase more wives.

“Yesterday I accordingly went, and found the kraal remarkably clean and neat, with a small four-cornered house,—I suppose, the only one in the country, except, perhaps, on a Mission Station. After sitting awhile, a good loaf of bread, made of Indian corn flour, was served up on a mat, with some thick, curdled, sour milk to drink. After taking refreshment, we went and sat under a large tree that was near, and the head men of about thirty kraals having assembled, I conversed with them freely on the doctrines of the Bible, explaining the law of marriage, and that God designed that a man should have only one wife. I answered their various questions, and especially insisted upon their not preventing others from embracing the Gospel, if they did not like to do so themselves : they promised they would not, and I had every reason to be satisfied with my journey, although it was a fatiguing one ; some parts being through bushes and ravines which were almost impassable, and which were the favourite haunts of wild beasts, of which this man was a hunter. May nothing occur to blight or blast the flower which is beginning to unfold !”

The man here spoken of was known by the cognomen of “Kaffir Jack.” He had a history even at that time. He was about the Bay when the English took Natal from the Dutch, and mixed up somewhat with the soldiers and officers. He was what would be called “a sharp, clever fellow ;” and I was a little suspicious of him at first, and had to proceed cautiously. He was also the “Nimrod” of the neighbourhood, being “a great hunter.” It was said that on one occasion, after spearing an elephant, the beast

made a charge at him and knocked him down ; but he adroitly made his escape between its hind legs and got clear off, as these unwieldy animals cannot turn round quickly to pursue an enemy. I make this distinct note of this man in connexion with my first intercourse with him, as he will turn up again in different parts of the narrative, first as " Kaffir Jack," and then by his Christian name of " Moses."

Commencement of the first Kaffir Class Meeting in Natal.—The interest among the people gradually increased until, in May, I was able to form a Catechumen Class, of which I have the following record : " May 4th, 1848.—Last Sabbath I began the *first* Kaffir Class Meeting in Port Natal. It was a novel as well as interesting one. *Eight* persons attended,—one elderly man, I suppose about sixty years of age,—six young men, say from twenty to twenty-five years old,—and one boy about fifteen years old. Two were clothed, three partly clothed, and three naked. We met out of doors at the back of a friend's house. Two came a distance of about fourteen miles, one six miles, one three miles ; and the others live in the place.

" The old man said he had only *one wife*, and therefore was free to serve God, which he was anxious to do. Polygamy is indeed the right eye and the right hand sin of this people, and requires the most serious determination in dealing with it. The opposition of the heathen to the Gospel is daily becoming stronger on account of its aiming a direct and deadly blow against this long-cherished practice : but this old man was determined to resist it, as also the young ones. Another, who had only one wife also, stated the same thing, and said that when he was young he was forsaken by his father, but God had taken care of him ; for which he was thankful, and he now desired to serve Him. Before, he was taught that when he died he would enter into a serpent ; but now he believed that if he served God, he would go to heaven when he died. This meeting was to me a very interesting and profitable one. But I was grieved and disappointed by the absence of two persons,—a man and his wife who had engaged to come ; but the man, having paid all the cattle for a second wife,

[am told, intends to take her. The probability is that both his own soul and that of his wife will be sacrificed on the altar of polygamy. A Christian Missionary has much to try and discourage him, whilst he has some things to revive and cheer him."

In proof that the word was now beginning to take effect, opposition to it on the part of the heathen became strong and persevering.

"July.—We continue to have strong proofs of the opposition of the heathen to the Gospel. A few days ago a young female fled to the Mission house for protection from the fury of her father and friends. She was required by her father to marry a heathen who had already two wives: but, having been brought under the influence of the Gospel, she refused compliance, and went to a young man of her own selection who had no wife. Her father quickly fetched her back, still persisting in his purpose; but she again fled to the young man, who, being afraid of the consequences of keeping her, took her back himself. Her father told her brother to ask who she was and from whence she came,—that being the mode of addressing strangers and aliens; and further to ask what eye or ear was to be lost from the kraal that day,—this being the mode of intimating that the person must be put to death. This she regarded as the announcement of her doom; upon which she fled to another kraal for protection, the master of which advised her to return and comply with her father's wishes; the father at the same time sending for the witch-doctor, who by his mysterious tricks and influence might charm her spirit so as to cause her to alter her purpose. But she then took the opportunity of fleeing to the Mission for protection. I have brought the case before the authorities, in order to obtain the assistance needed. The father and friends have been several times for her, but in vain: I shall not give her up, unless required to do so by the authorities.

"A few days after, another girl came, who was required by her father to take an old man who had *ten wives*. A short time after she came, the father and friends came in a very menacing manner to take her away. As I had not

engaged to keep her, and knew not the views of Government on such matters, I allowed them to take her, under the solemn promise that no harm should be done to her. But no sooner had they got outside the town than they put a *riem* (a long leather thong or stick used for oxen) round her neck and tied her hands behind her, driving her before them as a great culprit. A few days after I sent my Native Teacher to see after her; when he found her with her wrists sore and injured, having been bound four days; her finger also was injured, and other marks of violence were upon her person. The witch-doctor or necromancer had been sent for, and had given her medicine, at the same time practising his diabolical arts in order to induce her to say she was mad, and that all she said and did before was only the ravings of a mad person. Being in the presence of her tormentors, under restraint, she attempted to describe how the change had come over her in connexion with the medicine. She afterwards tried again to make her escape, but was overtaken. Thus, literally, ‘a man’s foes are they of his own household.’ Satan fights hard for his kingdom, but he shall be subdued.”

I was much grieved and distressed afterwards to be compelled by the authorities to give up the other poor girl to her brutal friends. This was hard work in an *English Colony*, where some protection should have been afforded to those who sought to escape from the worst forms of heathenism. Some of the authorities will have a serious amount of responsibility resting upon them. At any rate objectors will not be able to say that we were able to hold out enticing inducements to those who should forsake heathenism and embrace Christianity.

My next extract contains the record of an event which gave me the highest joy,—such joy as is known only to those who have laboured long and sometimes despondently in what seemed for the while a fruitless work.

Baptism of the first convert.—“September 5th, 1848.—This day has been one of more than ordinary interest, inasmuch as this evening our first convert was admitted into Church membership by the ordinance of baptism. This was an elderly female, who had been seeking God



KAFFIR WITCH DOCTOR.

about nine months, and a few weeks ago the Lord revealed His mercy to her soul in the pardon of all her sins. I preached on the occasion from Matthew xxviii. 19: 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations,' &c. I had freedom in speaking, and gave such advices to the person to be baptized as were needful. Solemn prayer was offered, and it was a season of great interest and profit. This appears but a small matter to others, but to the person who has laboured and prayed and watched, it has peculiar interest. It is only about twelve months since religious services were begun for this class of people; and there are now *eight* meeting in Class, and one full member. May God effect a saving change in all!"

First meeting for tickets.—My successes, as they began to increase and thicken around me, called for the fuller organization of the Methodist economy by bringing into use the "quarterly ticket," so soon as the stability of my proceedings warranted this step. "September 15th, 1848. —Last evening I met the native Class for tickets for the first time. It was composed mostly of Kaffirs, partly of half-castes, and partly of Hottentots and former slaves: about sixteen were present. This was the first meeting of natives for tickets in the town, and was one of intense interest to me. The person whom I had baptized a short time before gave a very clear and scriptural account of her conversion, which afforded additional proof that while there are 'diversities of operation, there is the same Spirit;' and that the Divine Spirit can enlighten and save a dark and depraved heathen as well as an instructed, civilized person. She *received the first ticket of membership in D'Urban*. They all appeared very sincere and very earnest, and I hope are not far from the kingdom of God. May this be the beginning of a great and glorious work!"

In this extract half-castes and Hottentots are mentioned. I found a few of these in the town in a very depraved state, most of them poor degraded drunkards when I began; but they also commenced attending the services, and some valuable members were obtained from among them.

Celebration of the first Kaffir marriage on Christian principles.—The reader is requested to observe here the

gradual progress of civilization in connexion with Christian marriage, as distinguished from heathen agreement. To bring about this first Christian marriage was a work of great difficulty. The young man and woman were both candidates for baptism, as I had resolved never to admit any into Church membership until they were properly married according to our Christian custom, if they were in a marriageable state. I am thankful that I have steadily adhered to this practice through the whole of my Missionary career.

After much trouble in getting all parties to agree, the day was fixed for this first Kaffir Christian marriage ; but, when the morning arrived, and I looked for the unique group to present themselves, the young man came alone, and in a very sorrowful manner stated that the parents of the young woman would not allow her to marry according to Christian custom, as “ it would make a great breach in all their old institutions.” I at once saw that this was a difficult and awkward case : it was *a vital question underlying many others*. If the heathen were victorious, a long train of remaining heathen customs must follow, and I was not disposed to make any compromise with heathenism. So I talked to the poor fellow, advising him to “ wait a bit,”—rather an awkward thing to do under the circumstances. He must try all the arts of love and powers of persuasion, and I would assume all the authority of which I was capable. Of power I had very little, having no Government authority to sustain me. The young man adopted my advice ; we both used all the means within our reach and with the best result, so that on the 19th of September I was able to marry them. “ September 19th, 1848.—This day I have married the first couple of Christian Kaffirs who have been married according to Christian custom in this place or for many miles around. Both the young man and woman were members of the Catechumen Class, and were decently clothed ; but the bridesmaid had only a piece of calico tied round her body, and the other female attendants were all but entirely destitute of clothing, their bodies being cleanly washed and their conduct decorous. Their not being clothed was no fault of theirs, as

they were not permitted by their parents to work as servants among Europeans, and so get money to buy clothes, and their parents would not supply clothing themselves."

The original name of the man who was thus married was Noziwawa; but he afterwards received the Christian name of Cornelius when baptized. I am not able to remember the young woman's name.

"Knowing the degrading effects of heathenism upon the female character, it was not a little gratifying to me to 'join these two persons together in holy matrimony,' and hear them engage in the fear of God to keep 'each to the other so long as they both should live.' After the ceremony was over I gave them a Kaffir Testament and Hymn-book, with the prayers translated in it. They will both be able to read God's holy word in a short time."

The work of conversion now began to go on in a most delightful manner. My journal must declare this great work. "October 18th, 1848.—On Sunday I conducted the two English services, as usual, morning and evening, and the Kaffir in the afternoon. I also visited the English Sunday school. The attendance at all was good. On Monday morning by six o'clock I was on horseback with my interpreter, to visit our two country Stations, but, before starting, had good news from one of the members of the Class. When the people in town heard of what God was doing in the country, they also became very earnest in seeking salvation. On Saturday night the one who had been seeking the longest, and was the farthest advanced in civilization, was so oppressed with a sense of the guilt of sin that he went into the bush for prayer. He prayed all Saturday night and all Sunday. Again on Sunday night he went to the bush, resolving,

'With Thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.'

Before the day broke, he 'found Him of whom Moses in the law and the Prophets did write.' Thus *he fasted and prayed from Saturday until Monday*, eating nothing, and only taking one cup of coffee to sustain nature. Observe, this convert was saved without human help: it was in the

silent night, when no one was present with him, no human voice was heard to cheer, direct, and encourage him; the howl of the wolf, or the screech of the jackal, or the songs of the insects were the only sounds to break the stillness, when God spoke peace to his soul; 'the still small voice' saying, 'Thy sins, which are many, are all forgiven thee: go in peace, and sin no more.' Before the morning broke 'the Sun of Righteousness' had risen on his soul with healing in His beams.

"We then rode about two hours to the first country Kaffir Station, beyond the Umgeni, and stayed a short time; after which we proceeded to the second, calling at several kraals on the way. As I had been unable to send word of my visit, the congregation was not collected; so that, after examining the Class, we returned, calling at some other kraals and on an English family. We returned to the Station we had left in the morning; but, rain coming on, I got thoroughly wet; but fortunately at the house of an European I was able to get dry clothes: otherwise I might have been ill, not being very strong at the time.

"Early the next morning I visited our newly formed Christian Kaffir village, containing twelve persons besides children. These were converts I had sent there a short time before, having obtained permission of the proprietor of the farm so to do. Shortly after their arrival here God had poured out the Holy Spirit upon them, so that ten out of the twelve professed to be saved: only two old Zulu warriors were left unsaved. We were standing on the side of a hill when I requested those who were saved to stand on my right hand; and those who were not, to stand on my left. *Ten* removed to the right, including all the younger persons, and two old men to the left. It was an affecting sight to see those two old warriors weeping and crying for mercy from God. One of them was old Abantwana, who was uncle to the great warrior Utshaka. He had been next to that great Chief in command, and was sitting by his side when Utshaka was assassinated by Dingaan. He had slaughtered many human beings, bathing his hands in human blood, whilst he had never quailed before a host of infuriated men; but now he was smitten

by a Hand unseen, and bowed down in sorrow and tears. Who will say that any power less than that of the Bible God could do this?

“About ten o'clock I began the regular service. About one hundred and fifty Kaffirs listened, whilst I proclaimed, ‘Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people,’ &c. *Twelve* of those who heard me had proved the truth of these words within the few preceding weeks. After the public service I met these new converts, when a number of clear and affecting statements were given of the manner in which they sought and found the Lord. But I think all had succeeded by *continued, wrestling, private prayer*. I then arranged for my next visit, when I would baptize ten of the number. The different services occupied three hours of continued talking. We then returned home, arriving about five o'clock; my heart being glad from having seen the arm of the Lord made bare; but my body was weary after three days of such incessant toil. I was very reluctant to take the native service that evening, but by the help of God I succeeded.”

“November 8th.—Returned from Pietermaritzburg, where I supplied on the Sabbath. I hastened home as quickly as possible; as Panda, the Amazulu Chief, not only had his army out, but it was reported that he had killed all the white people in his country, and it was feared he would enter the Colony, where he might do extensive and terrible mischief, as he is a powerful and relentless despot. His own people flee from him as fast as they can into the Colony; but it is death to them if they are caught before they arrive there.

“On my return I was glad to find that the Gospel of peace had also been extending its triumphs. My Native Teacher informed me of *six more* persons who had not only sought, but found the Saviour, and were made happy in the love of God. This is very gratifying, and I hope they will continue; but the task of securing and guiding our triumphs is difficult and great. These persons are only just emerging from the darkness and thralldom of heathenism, and cannot be expected in a day to acquire

all the order and stability of enlightened established Christians. We are now laying the foundation of a structure which I hope will be large in its dimensions, and permanent in its duration. I am anxious that it should be beautiful as well as large, bearing the polish of 'the Master of assemblies;' neither disfigured by remaining heathenism, nor defaced by polluted actions."

"October 15th.—On Monday I paid my monthly visit to the country Stations described in my journal a month ago. On Monday morning I and my interpreter left home about six o'clock A.M. After two hours' ride we arrived at the Station where on my last visit I had arranged to baptize ten adults on this visit. Before the public service commenced, I examined the ten candidates for baptism. I was glad to find that nothing had occurred during the month to require reproof or present a hinderance to their being received.

"About ten o'clock A.M. I began the public service: the attendance was not so large as it would have been, as many of the people had not returned from the Commando into Panda's country. I explained the nature of Christian baptism, from, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.' At the close of the sermon I baptized the ten persons prepared for the ordinance; being five males and five females. One woman was clothed, and the other four had calico tied round their bodies. All the males had shirts; four of them had trowsers, two had jackets, and one a waistcoat. This was the first baptism of Kaffirs in those parts, being twelve miles from the Bay, where the former baptism had taken place. To me it was a most gratifying service: I have good reason to hope well of all who were baptized.

"Afterwards I met all the members of the Class. The examination of the candidates before the public service had special reference to their fitness to be received into Church membership. The service now held applied to *all* persons meeting in Class. I was glad to find that the two poor old men whom I left in deep distress on my last visit had obtained mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, and

were happy in the love of God. The oldest one (Abantwana) said,—he went to the Teacher for advice, and was directed by him to a place in the bush where he might confess his sins and pray for mercy. He did so, confessing all the murders he had committed, all the adultery and other sins of which he had been guilty, so far as he could remember, and pleading with God for pardon for Christ's sake. Whilst thus engaged, light shone upon his mind, Christ was revealed to him as his Saviour, his load was removed, and he was made happy in the love of God. O wondrous, mighty, happy change !

“When I was last here, these old men asked me if they must lay aside their *head rings*” (described in my work on the “Kaffir Races”). “They had worn these heathen ornaments for many cycles of years, and hitherto would rather have thought of dying than of removing them. In answer to the question I said I would give them a month to consider of it. But the first thing to-day was for them to show me that they had cast them to the ground, and now had two old caps on their heads instead ; thus literally ‘casting their idols to the moles and to the bats,’ and serving God alone. They are very anxious to cast aside every vestige of heathenism ; but I am greatly distressed at not being able to get some clothing for them.

“Tuesday morning.—We left very early for the next Station on the Great Umhlanga, (this first being the Little Umhlanga,) after I had been favoured with a good night's rest ; having slept on a hard sofa with a Kaffir kaross over me, in a large Kaffir hut, which was the temporary abode of an Englishman. In passing the Christian village where the services had been held the previous day, the people all ran out to greet us, and thank us for our visit and labours.

“We rode on to near the Great Umhlanga, a distance of about seven miles. The people were already beginning to assemble ; so that by eleven o'clock A.M. the largest congregation was gathered that I have seen in the country : I suppose, about a thousand people. These sat down on the grass to ‘hear words whereby they might be saved,’ and rose up to join in learning to sing ‘the songs of Zion.

On my left were about six hundred females without clothing, except very slight covering about three inches deep round the loins; on my right about four hundred men, also naked. Near me were the two Native Teachers and their wives, with about six men who were clothed, and stood in pleasing contrast to the multitude in a state of nudity. The sun was hot, and, as I had only a handkerchief on my head to protect me from its fierce rays, I was much distressed, but spoke freely, and the people listened attentively. When they dispersed, they looked a very large number, as they were spread over the country, going to their different places of abode.

“Immediately afterwards I met the Class, and was grateful to God to find that four interesting youths had obtained the pardon of their sins since my last visit. Also a man and his wife were present (‘Kaffir Jack’) in whose case I took much interest. In a former entry I stated the manner in which this man came with his difficulty about the friends of a second betrothed girl, who insisted upon his taking her; and how I took great pains to prevent it. But notwithstanding, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, he took her, and I had not seen him for six or eight months, and had placed him among those who were lost through the difficulties of the way. But now he came with his one wife, both nicely dressed, having made arrangements to put the young wife away. The name of the wife I entered upon the Class paper as on trial; but his name I would not enter until he had carried out his arrangements in reference to his young wife in formally putting her away. This, I doubt not, will be done ultimately. But the amount of courage and resolution necessary to accomplish their purpose in embracing Christianity is much greater than can be calculated by those not intimately acquainted with their state. Polygamy is a powerful, many-headed enemy.

“After being engaged in these various services about four hours,—much time being required to give the instructions and directions imperatively demanded under their transition circumstances,—we directed our steps homewards. A thunder-storm began, and lasted nearly the

whole way: the lightning was terrific. We rode as fast as we could about three hours, being thoroughly wet most of the way. I was very weary and exhausted on my arrival at home: but, after taking tea and putting on dry clothes, I had to take the coloured service in the evening. Thus in three days I had preached six times, met two large Classes, and spent many hours in giving advice and direction on both temporal and religious subjects."

The scene of these operations was beyond the Umgeni, along the coast, between the Bay and the present site of Verulam. But I had not the houses of Europeans to go to at that time, as subsequently.

"November 23rd, 1848.—Surely, 'with God nothing is impossible' for Him to effect in those who are willing to be saved 'in the day of His power.' Harlots and drunkards and thieves are among those who still find mercy. When I came to this place, besides seeing so many Kaffirs without the Gospel, there were some thirty, half-castes, Hottentots, and late slaves, speaking the Dutch language. These, from their connexion with Europeans, were semi-civilized, being partially clothed, and having acquired some of the habits of civilized life: but they were sunk into the lowest state of sensuality; they had learned the white man's vices and grafted them on the heathen stock, and were thus 'tenfold more the children of the devil than before.' They wallowed in the mire of drunkenness, adultery, and lying. They admitted their degradation, but either loved it, or despaired of being raised out of it. It was some time before I could get any of them to attend any of our services; but at length three or four came, the word was favourably received, and two or three began to meet in Class. About three months ago one old woman obtained the pardon of her sins; and since that time the work has so far increased that there are now *eighteen meeting in Class*, three of whom profess to enjoy religion.

"Old David, the husband of the old woman who first began to meet in Class, had also joined the Class about two months. After having been a drunkard more than fifty years, and having lived in all sorts of sin, it was a

hard task for him to abandon drink, and become a 'total abstainer.' I had several conversations with him and his son Petros, until both wholly abandoned it, and became serious seekers of salvation. Six days ago David was taken ill, and he died last night. Just before he was taken ill, he said God had spoken to him and asked if he was ready to die, as he must come. His answer was, 'No;' but he was further told he must pray until he was ready. He was soon taken very ill, and for three days and nights had nothing to eat or drink, but was earnestly engaged in prayer. On Tuesday morning he sent for me; and said that he was much tempted: God said he should come to Him, but Satan said he should not. I conversed and prayed with him, and he was relieved. In the evening I was again called in, when I found that God had fully revealed His mercy to the soul of this poor, aged, dying sinner; and that he now anxiously desired to depart and be with Jesus. I then baptized him, and committed his soul to God in prayer. He remained sensible to the last, and, pointing upwards, said to his wife, 'See there, the Lord Jesus is come for me; the door of heaven is open for me, and I am now entering in.' In this state he remained, until he quietly breathed his last. Thus died poor 'Old David,' long a sad drunkard, but at length reclaimed and saved by that Gospel which is 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.' Thus died our first Natal member. Is not this 'a brand plucked out of the burning?' "

Before inserting the next quotation, it is proper to observe that I obtained the assistance of four additional Native Teachers, who did much good service and were a great help at this time. I obtained them from the Rev. James Allison, who was then at Indaleni. They were among his converts in the Amaswazi country, and fled with him when driven thence by the hand of persecution. How remarkable the workings of Providence and Grace! These people came from a great distance north-east of Natal: they were converted in the depths of the wilderness, and were now brought out and made the instruments in converting others. I placed these men in four different

places in the country parts of the Circuit, visiting them once a month at each sub-Station. We had no house in which to worship, so in each place had to conduct our services out-of-doors. The following quotation refers to the sub-Stations lying south-west of the Bay towards Kaffirland; whilst the former ones referred to the south-east, over the Umgeni, towards Zululand.

“December 9th.—Yesterday I spent in visiting the Kaffir kraals or villages, beginning at the Station lately formed on the Bluff. Johannes, the Native Teacher there, says, the congregations have increased since the first Sunday; but that ‘the people are very wild, and appear to be afraid lest the Gospel should take hold upon them.’ At one time they were callous, so that this fear did not exist; but when the Gospel began to take effect, and some were converted, they asked, ‘What new word is this? We heard the word before, but it was only like other words, and died away. But now the word makes the heart sore, and people weep, pray, and rejoice. *What is this new word?*’ Just so: here is all the difference betwixt the word of man, which merely falls upon the outward ear, and the word of God, which enlightens, convicts, and saves the soul, which induced them to forsake their heathen customs, and become the followers of Christ. We afterwards visited about ten kraals more, in one of which the Chief was present, and a number of head men of other kraals. I conversed with them at some length upon the state of darkness and sin in which they had long dwelt; but God had now sent His servants and word to call them to ‘come out of the bush,’ that they might behold the light of ‘the glorious Gospel of the blessed God.’

“At some of the kraals we found many of the people absent, being at work in their gardens; but at length coming to a large kraal, where a beast had been slaughtered, many were gathered together. It was a little difficult to get them to leave their beef-eating to listen to what I had to say, but after some time I succeeded. There were present about ten of the most interesting Kaffir girls I have seen: some of these were meeting in Class; but one of them, who had been only a few times, openly de-

clared before her father and friends that they had threatened to kill her if she continued to attend; and her heart was heavy on that account. A younger girl they had kept away by force. I spoke upon religious subjects in general, until I came to that of toleration; when I informed them that only two days before I had received a letter from Government in which it was declared that toleration in religious belief should be allowed; and therefore, whilst we did not wish to force Christianity upon them against their will, we did require that those who desired to embrace it should be allowed to do so without opposition. One old man then came forward, and, pointing to his two daughters, said, he had given them permission to become Christians. He explained to those present that he was their father, and asserted his right to do with them as he pleased; and, in the exercise of this right, he gave them permission. He begged for sixpence, which I gave him, not as payment, but as a present. The struggles between heathenism and Christianity in this neighbourhood have been severe; but we have a number of fine characters coming out victorious.

“December 14th.—This morning a Hottentot woman came to tell me that she had obtained the pardoning love of God; her husband having received the same blessing last Sabbath. A month ago she came to me twice in one day in deep bitterness of soul; at which time she found partial relief; but now she has obtained full deliverance. May she be found at last among ‘the faithful in Jerusalem!’ Shortly after she left, the father of one of the Kaffir girls of whom I last wrote came to say that he could not give permission for his daughter to become a Christian, as part of the cattle were already paid by a *polygamist*, and she must become his second wife. I at some length showed him that the law of God and of the Colony required toleration; and that a young man to whom the girl desired to be married could give as many cattle as the one to whom she was engaged. But all was in vain: a certainty was better than an uncertainty,—‘a bird in the hand’ was ‘worth two in the bush.’ She has not since been either to the public service or to the Class Meeting; but the

father of the other two girls still gives his consent; so that out of three we have succeeded with two; and if the other girl remains firm, we shall do it also in her case."

"22nd.—Yesterday I went to some of the kraals near, but especially to look after the girl of whom I last wrote. After much trouble and waiting some time she came; but, either by threats or promises, or both, had been induced to deny her former profession and say that she was not of sound mind when she spoke; she 'was mad:' but it was very evident that she was not uttering the true sentiments of her mind. The father had hid himself, so that I could not see him. At one of the kraals they were eating beef: the beast had probably been killed as an offering to the serpent-god."

The custom is, when sickness, or danger, or death approaches, to send for the witch-doctor or necromancer, who after divination declares that the spirit of some departed friend or chief is angry and must be appeased by an offering to the "manes of the dead." If the person has only one beast, it is freely offered on this occasion; and if he has not one, he will do his utmost to obtain one from his friends. When the offering is brought, the priest or person offering confesses the sins of the afflicted person or kraal over the head of the beast; and prays that the offering may be accepted, the spirit appeased, and the calamity removed. The beast is then slaughtered, the blood carefully caught in a vessel and preserved in a hut prepared for it, with the flesh of the beast, attended by solemn ceremonies, charms, &c. They leave the whole in the hut, which is guarded during the night, for the spirit-gods to drink the *serum* and be pacified. On the morrow the flesh is eaten, the priest-doctor having a large share. The whole proceeding is the result of superstitious dread, and its design is to remove existing evil or avert impending calamity."

"January 27th, 1849.—The power of God to save is still displayed amongst us. Two days ago a Bastard or half-caste, who is a soldier in the Cape Corps, came to me in deep distress of soul to inquire how he might be saved. This man had been one of the most hardened of his class;

he had only occasionally attended the services, and, when I spoke to him about the things of God, appeared quite regardless concerning them. About a month ago his wife sought and found the Saviour; but he still continued careless and hardened, until nine days ago God laid His hand upon him, and he had great bitterness of soul, seeking God with 'strong crying and tears;' so that when two days ago he came to me, he was in the greatest fear and distress; so much so that his whole frame shook, and sweat poured off him as if he had been immersed in water; whilst the big tears rolled down his face in rapid succession. He was a tall fine man, but intense grief had greatly reduced his frame, so that his whole appearance was the personification of wretchedness. This morning, at an early hour, he came to tell me that whilst wrestling in fervent prayer, about four o'clock A.M., the Lord spoke peace to his soul, and assured him that his sins were washed away in the blood of the Lamb. His whole appearance was changed; peace and pleasure sat upon his countenance, whilst he was enabled to look up, and call God 'Father by the Holy Ghost.'"

Surely changes like these in three different races of coloured men,—Kaffir, Bastard, and Hottentot,—could not be the work of imagination, or the mere development of strong animal feeling. If there is such a thing as conversion, these people give every sign and proof of it: what more ought men of reason to seek or desire?

"April 23rd.—On Monday I and my interpreter left early to visit the two Kaffir Stations beyond the Umgeni. We had some trouble in crossing the river, as it was wide and deep, and infested with crocodiles; and, from the recent floods, the ford or drift was so altered and deepened, being a sandy bed, that my horse had to swim, and in going out on the further bank the mud was so deep that he lay down three times; but I kept his back, or might have been greatly injured by his plunging; as it was, I sustained no injury.

"About eleven o'clock I had the two old men of whom I gave a previous account, two boys and one girl, brought for examination previous to baptism. I had kept these on.

trial for a longer period than usual, because, being the oldest and the youngest, I thought great caution was needed; but as nothing had occurred to render reproof needful, it was not wise to keep them longer out of the Church.

“It was an affecting sight to see an old Zulu warrior, the uncle of the great Utshaka and nearly related to Um-panda, who had fought savagely in many exterminating battles, having his hands imbrued with the blood of many slain, and his soul polluted by every kind of impurity and vice,—appearing, with his heathenism cast aside and his soul washed in the Saviour’s blood,—having a piece of calico sewed together to cover his otherwise naked body; whilst he was solemnly received into the Church of Christ by baptism, and I trust is a heir of the Church triumphant in heaven.

“The interest, however, was greatly increased by having his youngest son and daughter admitted at the same time with himself,—the boy about thirteen years old, and the girl eleven. I gave the old man the name of Adam, and the other old man was called Enoch. The wives and other children of the old men had been baptized before, so that out of thirteen persons there was not one who was not professedly saved. ‘What hath God wrought!’ The various services occupied about three hours.

“The next morning we proceeded on our way through thick copse and grass so high as to reach the tops of the horses’ backs. The morning was very beautiful, and myriads of dew-drops sparkled in the rays of the rising sun, whilst our legs were as wet as if we had gone through a river. We visited some kraals on our way; but the nudity of the women was repulsive, (of the men we take no notice,) having only a bit of covering as large as the hand whilst the body was otherwise entirely naked. Utshaka would not allow any unmarried female to appear in his presence with any covering on at all, and at present there is not one in one hundred who appears to have any shame about the matter. At the public service the attendance was small, being only about one hundred; but they listened with great attention, and the few members were cleanly attired in European apparel.

“After the public service I met the Class, which consists of five members and nine on trial. I had cause for both sorrow and joy—sorrow on account of one of the men who had been so persecuted by his wife and friends as to induce him to do that which was wrong. Sometime before she was sick, and declared that her husband had no care for her, as he had not given out a beast to be slaughtered to pacify the spirit, and did nothing to preserve her alive. She took his book back to the Station, and said he should learn no more; and then so excited her friends in her case as to cause the heathen to be loud and angry in their complaints against him. At length he yielded and gave out the beast for them to offer to the supposed angry spirit which afflicted his wife. He took no part in the ceremonies himself, but his spirit is by this means shorn of its strength. He was at the Class in great sorrow, and said, the Gospel came *too late* for him, as he was in those circumstances before.

“On the other hand I had cause for joy, two persons having found pardon during the quarter,—one young man whom I admitted on trial, and one woman whom I now admitted; this was *the old mother of ‘Kaffir Jack,’* of whom I have before written. Kaffir Jack found pardon the previous quarter, and I expect shortly to marry and baptize him. Thus the whole day was occupied, leaving us only time to return to the place where we slept the previous night. It was dark when we arrived; I was very weary. The following day we returned home in safety.”

“May 16th.—I left home in the morning to take my appointment at Pietermaritzburg. I was in company with a friend. When about ten miles distant from the Bay, we met a Kaffir driving an ox at a furious rate; in a few minutes another followed, driving another ox in the same manner, being adorned in the most wild and frightful style with tails and skins of wild animals, beads, &c., &c.,—running, dancing, and shouting in the most extravagant manner; a short distance behind some old men followed, driving more cattle, and appeared in joyous mood; then came after old women and children, all evidently full of hilarity. Upon inquiry we found that the young man was

in his way to take a wife, and the cattle were the purchase price."

"May 21st.—Yesterday, Sabbath, brother Parsonson took the English services, both morning and evening, and preached two good and useful sermons. I took the Native service in the afternoon, which was one of great interest and solemnity. I baptized six Kaffirs, and one late slave, being four males and three females; all the females had been previously married by me according to the mode of the Wesleyan Church. We had more solemn prayer, &c., than we have previously had on these occasions, and God more than ordinarily manifested His presence, which pervaded all minds; and though the service was conducted in the open air, as up to this time we have had no house in which to worship, all felt that it was a part of God's temple, and were led to say, 'How dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God: this is the gate of heaven.' A more deeply serious audience I never witnessed either among white or black. I seek to make the service as impressive as I can, and Church membership as great a privilege as possible; so that they may at all times feel the most solemn and binding restraints thrown around them. The greatest care is needful in managing them, but never baptize any until I have all reasonable proof that they are converted characters."

"June 18th.—Last week one of our Kaffir members died, a middle-aged woman. When we began our services she was living in a very depraved state, but 'the word' found its way to her heart, and she was brought into deep distress. She sought God 'with strong crying and tears,' until she obtained forgiving mercy 'through faith in the blood of the Lamb.' From this time she laid aside all her former evil practices, walking in the path of purity; until last Friday week, when she was seized with a fit whilst in the bush; from this time she never spoke. On Saturday and Sunday she was visited, but could not speak. On Monday morning I called, but was sorry to find that her friends had taken her away to die in the bush. On Tuesday morning I sent my Native Teacher to see after her: he arrived at the kraal towards the evening, having walked a

considerable distance; upon his arrival he was told that 'she died on the path a few hours before and was buried.' I was very sorry that she thus fell into the hands of the heathens: but such is their horror of death that they carry them sometimes into the bush and sometimes into old Kaffir houses to die and be eaten by the wild beasts. When they do bury them, it is frequently before they are quite dead. When they bury them, their custom is to tie up the legs and bury the body in a sitting position. This woman was buried in this manner; I hope, not before she was dead. This was the first Kaffir convert who left the world in connexion with our people here; the man whose death I before recorded was not a Kaffir, but a *half-caste*. She was to have been baptized among the last number who received that ordinance, but a difficulty arose which was neither her fault nor mine, and hence I was the more grieved that she should be taken off in this sudden manner.

"Yesterday I sought to improve the event before the public congregation. I inquired what the heathens would say had become of her spirit. They replied, 'It had entered a serpent.' I asked if this was the belief of some or of all. They answered, 'All.' I further wished to know if the spirits of the departed entered into harmless serpents alone or into all. They 'did not know.' I then took occasion to explain the Scripture doctrine of rewards and punishments, and showed that if she was a godly woman, as we have every reason to suppose she was, then she was a happy saint in paradise instead of a wandering spirit in a serpent; thus making apparent the infinite superiority of Christianity over heathenism, and exhorting all to seek it without delay."

"June 18th.—This day two young men have been for the purpose of placing themselves and their families under my care, to be located in some village which I may provide for them, which may afford favourable facilities for their serving God. The case of this family affords one of the most striking proofs of the power of God and the glory of the Gospel with which I am acquainted. The family consisted of an old man who had four wives and an aged

nother, together with four sons, one of whom was married. The old man at first manifested the most violent opposition to the Gospel, not only staying away from our services himself, but preventing his family also from coming, so that I had not the slightest expectation of any being taken from among them for the service of God. But some time ago one of the young men went to Pietermaritzburg, where he became converted; he returned home shortly before the death of his father, and began to read and pray in the family. The old man was shortly after taken ill and died. Towards the end of life he manifested sorrow for sin, but we have no proof that he found mercy. Since his death the whole of the families have placed themselves under my care: some of them already meet in Class, and probably the remaining ones will soon do so. I am very thankful to God for this new display of His power, and am thus anew encouraged to labour for the salvation of the heathen."

"June 22nd.—This has been a busy day. Early in the morning I started with my interpreter, and rode about five miles to the house of an European friend to locate the families who had applied to me for that purpose four days before, as recorded in my journal. Having done this, I then rode further to hold a Kaffir service and meet the Class at one of the kraals. The old man at this kraal (the father of Cornelius Noziwawa) had been ill, but was better. He had had three wives: but God had called and converted Cornelius,—who was the first Kaffir man I married according to Christian custom; to bring about which I had so much difficulty, as before stated, and one of his sisters also married shortly after to another Kaffir convert.

"This old man had been opposed to the Gospel, until last quarter two out of three of his wives were brought to feel its power and yield to its influence. One of them was old, and had been set aside some time to give place to younger ones, according to Kaffir custom. She was the mother of Cornelius, and as fine a Kaffir woman as I ever saw. The second wife had a little child in her arms and two or three little ones by her side. The young wife and the old man were still heathen. The kraal consisted of the cattle fold in the middle with a strong bush fence

round it, then the huts or houses round that, and at a short distance, enclosing the whole, a strong outer fence, with an opening in the lower side for the entrance of the people and cattle, being sufficiently strong to resist the attack of an ordinary enemy.

“A piece of calico for a flag was hoisted on a long stick, to announce that the ‘*Umfundisi*,’ Minister, had arrived, and the people must come. I sat down on a bundle of sticks, and the old man soon sat down by my side on a thick stick or branch of a tree: I then began to prepare the way for the formal separation of the two elder wives, by speaking of the great blessings of the Gospel and the manner in which God had brought it to his family, many of whom were now saved,—also, how he had been ill, and the Lord had raised him from his sickness. He said, ‘Yes, the heathen had said the spirit was angry because he allowed the service to be held at his kraal, but he was now better.’ This led to a conversation on the folly and falsehood of witchcraft, &c., and how it became needful for the doctors to fight hard against the Gospel, as they saw ‘their craft was in danger.’ But they had not kept his neighbour from death, whilst our God had restored him to health, thus giving the lie to witchcraft. I then proceeded to show that God required a little sacrifice from us, &c., and it was needful for him to give up two of his wives in order that all might become Christians. He replied that from the time they, his two wives, had begun to go to Class, they had gone away from him themselves; but he appeared to feel it hard to give them up without the *return of the cattle* he had given for them, which was the custom of his people; but he yielded.

“The congregation had now arrived, and I preached on the nature of Christ’s kingdom, pointing out the difference between this ‘Prince of Peace’ and the bloody warriors of Utshaka and Udingaan—how, when those terrible slaughterers entered the kraal, the people fled to the bush and sought protection in inaccessible caves or dense forests; whilst, on the contrary, the reign of Christ was the reign of peace, and under His banner we sat together that day in peace, none attempting to make us afraid.

“Afterwards I met the Class. Some of the members had obtained pardon during the quarter, and two had been baptized,—leaving *fifteen* still on trial. ‘What hath God wrought!’ We then galloped home as fast as we could, darkness coming on before we arrived there.”

“June 27th.—We were early in the saddle to visit the stations beyond the Umgeni. We arrived at the first about ten o’clock A.M. I then proceeded to marry three couples of the Kaffir members. Two of these were old men of whom I have before written. I had before formally separated each from one wife, and now formally married each to the remaining one. The Kaffir custom of the man being at liberty to send away his wife if he does not like her, or the woman departing from her husband on slight quarrels, renders it needful to give all possible solemnity to the marriage state. During the quarter one woman had given some trouble by going away from her husband for a time, so that it became the more needful to marry them in the regular manner according to the Wesleyan custom as given in the ‘Sunday Service,’ which is translated into Kaffir. I also gave tickets: eighteen members in Class, four on trial.

“The following morning we left early for the next Station. I met the Class before the congregation arrived. *Kaffir Jack the hunter*’ and *Sanna* had to be married. I have given some account of Jack before, and I wish to notice the stages by which he got out of the difficulty of the second wife whom he had taken. The whole was now arranged by his giving the young wife to his nephew without the nephew giving him any cattle for her; so that Jack embraced Christianity at a first sacrifice of ten cattle, besides much odium which he had to endure on account of breaking the custom of the nation. Sanna gave proof that God had changed her heart, in that she was now willing to be married to her husband in due form, and *to be his only wife*.

“The young wife and the nephew of Jack were also present, to whom I spoke, as also to another young woman who was engaged to a young man, to see if any impediment was likely to be placed in the way of their serving God. Some would think so much particularity unneces-

sary or impertinent, but the subject is of great importance, and must be attended to with all possible care. At the public service held in the open air there were about five hundred present; when I solemnly married Kaffir Jack to Sanna, and pronounced them 'man and wife together in the name of the Holy Trinity.' I took the opportunity of pointing out God's design in chaste marriage, and its advantages over the heathen custom of polygamy.

"I had to return home the same evening on account of having left my wife in ill health. I had to travel much of the distance alone in the dark, through a country infested by elephants, wolves, and serpents, and cross the bridgeless Umgeni River, where crocodiles abounded who had lately taken some persons down; so that my fears were a little excited: but I sought to commit myself to the care of God, and by His goodness was brought safely through."

"October 15th, 1849.—Yesterday five adults and four children were baptized, proving the progressive power of the Gospel in subduing not only individuals but families. One Hottentot man was baptized. His wife had been baptized some time before, and wished one of her children to be baptized with her, but was not permitted; but now that the father was received, their two children were also baptized. Another woman, late slave, was baptized, her husband having been before received: their child also was now baptized. These among many others illustrate and confirm my belief in the doctrine of infant baptism by the Apostles, as I am persuaded that in the various instances of adults being baptized with their 'households,' as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, infants and young children were among the number. The other child was a Kaffir infant, being the son of Cornelius, as the result of the *first Kaffir Christian marriage*. I felt more than ordinary pleasure in consecrating this infant to God.

"The other three adults were three unmarried Kaffir young women, a great triumph of the power of the Gospel in overcoming the opposition of the heathen, as it is this class of persons they are so anxious to retain in the toils

of heathenism ; but the persecution which existed some time ago appears to be subsiding."

" March 2nd, 1850.—Yesterday was a day of considerable interest. We left early for the purpose of holding services on the Umhlatusan River. There was a congregation of about one hundred Kaffirs. After preaching I baptized *five adults and one infant*—all Zulu Kaffirs. The adults were all elderly persons, one old woman being the grandmother of the infant. Four of the adults were females and one male. Three of the women had been obliged to leave their husbands, who were polygamists, in order to embrace Christianity ; two of them had small children to bring up ; the three poor creatures have sacrifices to make of which English Christians know nothing ; but they loved the Saviour more than husband or children. Ought not such instances to 'stop the mouths of gainsayers,' and cause them to acknowledge this to be a work of God? The man also was advanced in life, and was one of the first to meet in Class in these parts, but for *eighteen months* did not find the Saviour, until about two months ago his soul was blessed and saved, since which time his wife has also been converted, and now both together were admitted into the Christian Church by the ordinance of baptism. Of the old man I had many doubts and fears, but I believe he is now firmly fixed on the Rock of ages. I have watched his case with intense interest, and am truly thankful for the result.

" The place also where the service was conducted was to me interesting, being under some trees on the side of a hill with a beautiful landscape around. Whilst we were singing the high praises of God, I could not help thinking of the time when the savage Amazulu war song had resounded amidst those trees and reverberated among the rocks. The bright green leaves, tremulous in the breeze, had a peculiar effect upon my spirit—half melancholy, but most soothing and delightful. Now those beautiful leaves quivered as the breath of the high praises of God touched them, and these recovered heathens knelt on the green grass whilst I baptized them in the name of nature's God, and presented them to Christ as a part of the heathen

whom He was to have for 'His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession.' May every knee soon bow to Him, and every tongue 'confess Him Lord of all!'"

On May 12th the new English chapel was opened, by which the natives were enabled to occupy the old English one, which was a great relief and comfort after nearly three years' difficulty in the open air. I was now able to conduct the sacramental and other services with much more convenience and comfort. Had I waited to begin the native work until I had a chapel, how different would the state of things have been! But now my journal has the following record:

"August 5th.—I have still to 'praise the Lord for His goodness, and for His wonderful works to the children of men.' Yesterday (Sabbath) was a day of great labour and some blessing. At the native service in the afternoon the chapel was nearly full of devout worshippers of Almighty God. After the sermon the sacrament was given to about *forty* of these redeemed and I hope saved persons—O! how changed! In the evening the English received the sacrament, being about fifty in number. Towards the close of the service, when greatly exhausted in body, I was filled with the Spirit, and led to exclaim, 'The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth from all sin.' Glory to the God of all grace!"

From this time the circumstances of the country and people changed rapidly. Until now the Kaffirs only, with but a European family here and there, had occupied the country. But now the English poured in: *Verulam* and other places were formed, and the work increased on every hand. I have given an account of the marriage of "Kaffir Jack:" he was afterwards baptized, when I gave him the name of "Moses," by which he will be distinguished in future.

"August 29th.—Arrived (from Verulam) at the residence of 'Moses,' formerly 'Kaffir Jack,' the hunter. He lives on a high hill near the mouth of the Umhloti River,—has built a house thirty feet long and twelve feet wide, and has washed it with red clay, so that it is red and not white.

There is he with *his one wife*, his mother, his nephew and his nephew's wife, all members. In a short time the people assembled, and I preached and led the Class: after which we arranged for Moses to hold the service at his own kraal on Sabbath mornings, and at Verulam in the afternoons: but I had to appoint him in due form before the people, otherwise they would not acknowledge his credentials."

I had now to be thrown more fully upon my own resources, as the four Native Teachers I had had desired to return. "September 14th.—I have at present some trouble in my Kaffir work; two of my Native Teachers who came from a distance having left me to return, thus leaving two of my country Stations without a supply; two others also having been absent some time. To supply my first lack I think of taking out *two of my own Kaffir converts*, who have been members for two years; their piety has been deep and their lives consistent, giving them influence among their own people. I should be glad if they were a little more fully prepared, but as they read the word of God and have a fair amount of general information, I doubt not but they will be very useful; the other lack of service I must supply with Kaffir exhorters. It is cause of great thankfulness that in the short space of three years we have not merely had many converts, but a native agency is raised up, which, rightly managed, will enable the Circuit to proceed without depending for a supply of labourers upon other Circuits."

First Native Lovefeast.—"December 19th, 1850.—Yesterday we held our first native Lovefeast, it was an occasion of deep interest and powerful feeling. About sixty members were present, many of whom spoke in a very lively and touching manner of the work of God in their souls. Four or five were standing up at one time, so that I had to give each his turn. Towards the close of the meeting all were greatly affected, especially when one of the Kaffir members was speaking about the death of a backslider; all were overcome and wept aloud. I hope the effects of this service will not soon be lost: my own soul was greatly blessed, and I am waiting for the fuller 'manifestation of

the sons of God.' I cannot but be thankful to God for the extent to which I have been saved from the principle of selfishness ; my whole nature appears to be absorbed in the well-being of others, desiring and seeking their temporal and spiritual welfare."

The last day of 1850 was marked by the arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Spensley and Gaskin. About two years later Mr. Spensley succeeded me in D'Urban. In 1862, twelve years later, Mr. Gaskin's name appears on the " Minutes " in charge of Verulam as a separate Circuit, with Mr. Berry as a second Preacher.

"On the first day of 1851 I married two couples of converted Kaffirs. They were clean and neat in their attire and orderly in their deportment. Each couple had the attendant male and female friends ; so that as these eight persons stood before the altar, ' clothed and in their right minds,' it was a gratifying sight to behold how our Divine religion had raised these former barbarians to civilization,—from heathenism to Christianity. Three years ago they were naked savages, now they were civilized renewed Christians. The ceremony was accompanied with singing and prayer and counsels suited to their altered circumstances. May God preserve them !"

"January 3rd, 1852.—Through the 'tender mercy of God,' I am permitted to enter upon another year. In looking over the past I am humbled, ashamed, and broken-hearted, but my whole trust is in the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Our Watchnight—English—was not numerously attended, but I believe it was profitable to those who were present. I preached from, ' Brethren, the time is short.' Two of the Local Preachers also took part in the service. I felt it good to be there, and found access to God in prayer, being enabled to consecrate myself anew to Him.

"In the course of the day " (Jan. 1st) "our coloured people had their *annual feast*, the fatted ox was killed, some plum-puddings made, and tea provided. The gathering was large, nearly all the Kaffir members from the country were in. In the evening I explained to them some of the first principles of astronomy, with which they were much

delighted, and their inquiries were such as to make it very evident that they understood what was explained to them : they were introduced into a new world, and their pleasure was great. We can succeed better with them than with ignorant Europeans, because they will believe what is said."

These extracts have been longer than I intended ; but I have carefully sought to avoid unnecessary repetition, not giving one quotation which did not state some new truth or fact, or present some fresh phase of what had been described under another form. The range of topics and particulars is large and varied, and the *circumstantial evidence given* must carry its own weight as to the nature and extent of this conversion work. My opportunities of forming correct opinions upon what has been recorded, every candid person must admit, were of the most favourable kind. *Nearly every day for more than five years I was intimately acquainted with their inward workings and outward actions.* The quotations bear their own evidence as to how the natives came to me, consulted with me, sought my advice and direction, and when they obtained spiritual blessings at once informed me of them. I was literally their spiritual father and their temporal director. They felt that they had a home and that they had a father, and spoke and acted accordingly. Observe also with what scrupulous care I admitted them to baptism. Observe, again, the length of time during which this work was carried on ; it was not a day, a month, or a year ; but extended through *five years*, continuing to the time of my leaving the Colony. The last entry in my journal gives an account of five Kaffir adults and four children received into the Church by baptism at Verulam ; and only five days before, three Kaffir adults and one half-caste were received in D'Urban. There was no noise, no confusion, no loud profession ; but a steady, deep, progressive work.

Five years ago I again visited Natal, after an absence of eighteen years. The advance which had been made in the material prosperity of the country was truly wonderful. Many Europeans whom I had assisted in their first start,

who had no temporal means, and only brave hearts, strong arms, and fixed virtuous habits on which to rely, have advanced to prosperity and honour. But the present remarks must apply only to the native converts, of whom a detailed account is given in the preceding pages. What had become of them? Were they still in existence? Had they increased and advanced, or had they retrograded and passed away? Happily the answer to these questions is not doubtful, but definite and firm. The increase in numbers and influence in connexion with the towns had not been so great as it would have been, had a wiser mode of conduct been pursued by the Government and the townspeople in having Native Locations established in connexion with the European towns, as had been done in the old Colony, by which means the Europeans had been supplied with native servants, and large and prosperous Native Churches had risen up. Instead of this, no such Location was established in connexion with D'Urban, so that a settled Native Church could not be formed. Many people, especially young men, came in from the Locations, and stayed awhile to work, and then returned. But notwithstanding this and other drawbacks, when I visited Natal in the early part of 1871, there was a fine native congregation worshipping in the chapel which I and others had struggled so hard to erect more than twenty years before. It was then crected for the English congregation; but they have now a large handsome chapel, and this which they before used is appropriated to the use of the native congregation. There was also an European Minister in charge of the congregation and Church. How changed since I first gathered the naked red people under the tottering walls of the late Mr. Mesham's outer buildings! I addressed this respectable congregation, but there were only very few of the old faces. Those were the first fruits, and these had succeeded them.

It was, however, very different at Verulam, where I had obtained land for a small Native Location, on which had placed some of our early native converts, of whom detailed accounts are given in these pages. Most of those whom I had left as Local Preachers were still there.

Brevity requires that I only take space for a few remarks as to one of these—Cornelius Noziwawa, who was the *first* Kaffir married according to the rites of the Christian Church, and was amongst the first baptized, and placed on the Plan as a Local Preacher. When I visited Verulam in 1871, the Minister of the Kaffir congregation called them to meet me on a certain day, when many of those converts attended, and I addressed them in the chapel. Their joy was very great as I placed before them the way in which God had led them,—what they were when I found them “in the bush,” what they were now,—and the processes by which the wonderful changes had been effected. Cornelius was amongst those present: he and some others had advanced so far as to have *small sugar estates*, and to take their place amongst civilized men. They were still officers in the Native Church, which had its own Minister and separate organization, and had encouraging prospects in the future.

I think I have now fully established my position at the head of this chapter,—“Conversion Work among the Natal and Amazulu Kaffirs.” I have stated clearly and plainly what they were when I began to work among them,—the wildest, most superstitious and depraved barbarians of whom we can conceive. I have detailed the processes by which these rough wanderers were brought under the power of the Gospel, and became the subjects of a saving change; and I have placed before the reader the fair and scriptural fruits which have followed and continued through more than twenty-five years. I maintain that this is as much as the case admits of, and is as much as can be given in connexion with any scientific fact or historical verity; and that it ought to satisfy every reasonable person. Evidence allowed to be conclusive on all other subjects ought not to be rejected here; and hence I calculate that this conversion work will be endorsed not only by all Christians, but by all who lay claim to reason and right.

The Mission work of which a brief history is given in the chapters which I now bring to a close, is of a truly gratifying character; extending over a very large extent of country in South Africa, and through a period of sixty

years. But what has been wrought in these comparatively few years is wonderful. The records made in these pages refer almost exclusively to Methodist Missions ; but the labours and successes of other Churches, to which nothing more than a passing allusion has been made, are also great. The Scotch Free and United Presbyterian Churches, the London Missionary Society, the Berlin and Moravian Societies, the French Missionary Society, the Missions of the Episcopal Church, the American Board of Foreign Missions, &c., have all laboured diligently and well, and also have their triumphs to proclaim.

Besides, much of the work has been preparatory and tentative. The translation of the Holy Scriptures into the different languages and dialects of the country, the work of education, the commencement of a literature in the vernacular, the formation of a Native Ministry, &c., &c.,—all have had to be begun and carried to their present state of success under many and varied difficulties : but these difficulties being overcome, the work will advance, with ever increasing power, and the results will be more marked and extensive. When the writer takes a glance at what has been accomplished within his own period of connexion with these Missions, he can only wonder and adore.

The crowning events of to-day are the formation of the Livingstonian Mission, penetrating far into the interior, which is now a fact accomplished ; and the commencement of the Basuto Native Mission, also far up the country, of which an account has been given. All these enterprises go to show that now the work is no longer to be confined to the outskirts of this great continent, but marches boldly into the interior : so that soon we may expect to see Messiah going forth in the greatness of His redeeming strength, “conquering and to conquer,” until the many tribes and tongues of this long oppressed land, which has been baptized with the blood of many slain, shall rejoice in universal liberty and peace, and the grand song shall be sung from the centre to the circumference, “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.”

APPENDIX.

THE LIVINGSTONIAN MISSION.

THE Livingstonian Mission is the great event in the story of modern Missions in South Africa. But in any marks we make upon it, we would do so in a chastened spirit, and, instead of adopting the language of triumph as though the victory were achieved, write, not in despondence the difficulties which have still to be surmounted, but in confidence and hope that He who has so far prospered the work of His servants may still look on with favour, and bring it to a successful termination. We remember how a former effort failed, at least for the time being; and how Dr Mackenzie fell in "the high places of the" Mission "field;" and we bear in mind that the men now at work will be exposed to danger and death. We are devoutly grateful for what has been accomplished, and pray that Being who can keep His servants from "the stillness that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day," to look with favour upon the undertaking, and to preserve the lives of His servants.

One gratifying fact that should be carefully noted is, that the patient, intrepid, successful explorer Livingstone is a *Christian man*; so that the first knowledge of the English character, obtained by the tribes in the interior of South Africa, was that of a friend and deliverer. A long dark night had brooded over the interior of South Africa; amidst the darkness Satan had long had his seat, and had revelled in the appalling scenes of war and blood and death. The butchers of human beings had, without check, long hurried on their horrible work in the slaughter of many, to obtain victims for the slave-markets: but at length the

darkness was broken, the "Day Star" began to arise. Livingstone not only explored the country as an enterprising traveller, but brought it in all its woes and wailings before the eye and heart of Christian England, and roused the spirit of philanthropy which will not be allayed until much of the darkness and suffering is rolled away from the unhappy people.

The close of Livingstone's earthly career was touching in the extreme. He was not permitted to return once more to England, to be again honoured and applauded by men, but was called up at once to inherit the glory of paradise. His work was done. He died *alone*, excepting that His Master was with him: he died *on his knees*; or rather his spirit escaped from the mortal coil and the fragile hut, to enter the mansion of the skies. In this manner he bequeathed Central Africa to the Christian Church. The mantle fell on his former friend and co-traveller Dr. Stewart, who took it up, brought the subject before the Churches of Scotland, and these pages will show how the work has progressed to the present time.

In the following records but little more has been done by the writer than collect and arrange the public documents, letters, &c., bearing upon the subject; these being arranged in due order with explanatory and connecting remarks by the compiler. "*The Christian Express*," published at the "*Lovedale Seminary*," from whence Dr Stewart went, is the chief contributor of the letters, &c.

PUBLIC MEETING IN EDINBURGH, 1875.

"AN influential public meeting was held in Edinburgh on the 19th of February in connexion with the 'Livingstone Colony' £10,000 Fund. Lord Moncrieff was in the chair, and a number of the leading men of the Free and Reformed Presbyterian Churches were present. It is unnecessary to quote again here speeches of a general kind. Those we give are of men who have a real and thorough knowledge of this subject. Captain Wilson, R.N., is the first who has shown that there is a line of communication, perfectly clear, between the proposed colony and the sea. A break anywhere in this line would produce total paralysis of all action on Lake Nyassa. No colony

would be worth the name, which could not bring up English manufactured goods to the lake, and send down native produce to buy them. Mr. E. D. Young's words have a special interest from his being about to lead the expedition; and every word of Dr. Stewart will be read, as that of a man who clearly knows what the stake is, who counts the chances and mischances, and who has faith in the result to warrant the making of great efforts and great sacrifices.

“ Captain WILSON (of the Naval Squadron on the East Coast of Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade) said there could not be a better site for a Mission than the one proposed. Dr. Livingstone had loved the Lake Nyassa, in whose district his life was chiefly passed. He had wished to place a vessel on the lake as a stronghold for Missions and for the suppression of the slave trade. The reason why Lake Nyassa was preferable to others was that it was situated in a populous and fertile country, and from the Lake to the sea there was a navigable river of 300 or 400 miles. No other river offered the same facilities for transport, and transport was the chief difficulty in getting into the interior. Beasts of burden were the only other means of transport, and they died quickly. A Mission's success depended on a safe and certain transport to the sea. In this case they proposed to establish the communication by a steamer on the lake and a boat on the river. The steamer would be useful in tapping the coast line of about 600 miles for food. Besides this, the moral influence of a steamboat on the lake would be immense. It would be an argument that the Africans would understand and appreciate. They could comprehend the superiority of people who came to them with power to put such a thing as a steamer on the lake. The boat on the river would be a sailing boat. There was always a good breeze up the river, and, of course, the tide would carry it down. There were at one place falls on the river that interfered with the navigation, but this difficulty would be got over by the aid of a friendly band of natives who had formerly been in the service of Dr. Livingstone, and who would carry the boats past the rapids. It was a great thing to make a start in this direction, but those who had the influence should endeavour also to get the Portuguese Government to open the Zambesi River, the natural outlet from Central Africa eastwards, for trade. The duties were just now prohibitive. If this route were opened, steamers would find their way up the river, and

a good deal would be done to stop the slave trade. The good that would be done by the Mission on the Lake Nyassa would be vast indeed, besides the Christianizing of the people. The presence of the steam launch going from end to end of the lake would have a good effect on the African chiefs, who, aware of the evils of the trade, would give it up with some encouragement. The very sight of the British flag, well known amongst them to be inimicable to slavery, would have the desired effect. It would be more effectual on the lake than a squadron of cruisers on the coast.

“ The Rev. HORACE WALLER (editor of the Livingstone Journals) endeavoured to represent the feelings of Livingstone as he wandered in Africa in regard to slavery. He thought it was a noble thing to see a memorial to David Livingstone taking this form. No other memorial would have been in accordance with the feelings of the great traveller. No better tribute could be paid to his memory than by following out the work he began. He pointed out the wisdom of the proposal. Acts of civilization must go before evangelization in such countries. The languages of the people must be learnt, and the force of a Christian example must be shown, before the preaching of the lips could be effectual. He read extracts from a letter of Livingstone to show that he had advocated the reaching of the inland country by the rivers rather than by any other way. Along the caravan route the distress of the journey was so great that the Arab slave-dealers were willing to allow their slave gangs to melt away to the extent of one half, if they could save the rest for the market. Scenes occurred of the most horrible description. There was but one way to uproot this slavery. Nothing but English influence would put a stop to it. David Livingstone was dead. He foresaw long ago that he should fall in Africa, but his death had given an impetus which was significant in the highest degree. The cloak of David Livingstone had fallen on the whole of Christian England. All eyes were fixed on Africa, where his steps marked a noble purpose, and there was a wish to follow in them. He rejoiced at this unusual crowding together of godly men to make a united effort to help poor Africa. The large-heartedness which dwelt in David Livingstone had made him conscious, he had written in one of his letters, of but one feeling of respect and love for both parties (the Church of England and the Free Church) in regard to their African work. There was room enough and to spare, he had

written, for all who wished to promote Christ's kingdom in this region. They had, he showed, men representing them in Africa loved and respected by the natives. Mr. Waller added, in regard to the slave trade, that before Livingstone died the trade had had a blow at its roots which had led the upas tree to wither away on the coast. But the interior slave trade yet flourished. What the effect of a body of Englishmen on the Lake Nyassa would be, he left them to imagine from the statements of what the presence of a single man—David Livingstone—had had on the slave traders. Nothing was now talked of so much along the Arab caravan routes as the action of the Englishmen on the coast. When they saw Englishmen on the lake, under the English flag, he had no doubt that a moral influence would be exerted upon them greater than could be contemplated. He pointed to the assurance always expressed by Dr. Livingstone that things would come right at last in regard to Africa, and urged on the meeting to make this cause their own, and raise up this most noble of all memorials to his memory—a temple of peace and religion in Africa, in which the name of the Lord would be heard in reverence and prayer.

“Mr. E. D. YOUNG, R.N., (of the Livingstone Search Expedition,) said he was about to set out to Lake Nyassa for the Committee of the Free Church, and hoped to be back in two or three years to report that the slave trade was suppressed. He believed that half-a-dozen resolute Englishmen on Lake Nyassa would put down the trade. They might take a besom and sweep out the miserable half-caste Arabs who maintained this trade. He was going out at the invitation of the Free Church to put down this trade. He hoped his action, when he came back, would be approved of by Christian men, but felt bound to say that had he not been engaged in this Missionary enterprise, and the Government had asked him to go out to-morrow to put down this trade, he would have collected his guns and rifles and dealt death to the cursed slave-dealers, who were wholesale murderers. He hoped the Church would look after its Missionaries, as the best part of those who died there died from pure want—not having a drop of wine or brandy to support them in extremity.

“Dr. MACGILL rejoiced to know that two Churches had already come forward conspicuously in this work,—the Free Church and the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and on the part of the Church which he represented he might say that a young man

who had been trained with a view to a Missionary life had dedicated himself to the work in Central Africa. He would go out under the superintendence of the Free Church, though supported by his own Church ; and on the return of Mr. Young, at the end of two years or more, it would be a matter for consideration whether they would commence a Mission on their own part, or continue to assist in the undertaking now proposed.

“The Rev. Dr. STEWART (from Africa) spoke of the practicability of the Mission, which he thought was vouched for by the fact that two men, who had already spoken, were willing to take their lives in their hands and try it. Then, as to the desirability, he thought no Christian man could doubt it. The good results of an effort such as this would be enormous. As to the means, they had not only lives, but the whole cause at stake, and he hoped these would be forthcoming in abundance. Their object was to plant the Gospel of Christ in a dark region—hell’s empire, great and grim. People at home believed the horrors of the slave trade were exaggerated, but it was not true. The worst that had been spoken or written was not the worst that had been perpetrated. They would exert no other force than moral force in dealing with the slave trade, but they believed it would be effectual. They would have difficulties and disasters, but their object was a worthy one, and he was sure the Mission would succeed. He prayed to God to protect and defend those who went out in this work, and that assistance would be sent out by all the Churches to Christ’s work in this vast region. He thanked Mr. Wilson and Mr. Waller for coming down to aid in this meeting.”

MEETING AT ABERDEEN.

“An influential public meeting was held in Aberdeen on March 1st, 1875, in reference to the establishment of a Missionary settlement on Lake Nyassa. The Lord Provost occupied the chair, and was supported by the leading Ministers of the city, chiefly of the Free and U. P. Churches, and by a number of gentlemen, well known for the interest they take in Missions. The Mission itself was represented by the Rev. Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale, and Mr. E. D. Young, R.N., and the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland by Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell.

“It is quite evident that the Livingstone Mission scheme

has taken the heart of the country. There will be no want of funds, but what is more, there is forthcoming a staff of devoted workers.

“ There appears to be a general impression, that the primary idea of Livingstonia is that of a colony, and it may be as well to correct that impression. The primary design is to plant a Christian Mission, not one-sided, but carrying along with the evangelistic, educational, and medical efforts of other Missions, the introduction of the industrial and other arts of civilized life. If it succeed as such, all the rest will follow ; but the fancy, that the settlement will at once become a centre of commercial activity, sending down to the coast large quantities of native produce from the shores of the Lake, and drafting up quantities of English manufactures, may lead to disappointment. Any one who considers the difficulty presented by cataracts in the Shire, involving an ascent of 1,800 feet, and 60 miles of land carriage, will at once see, that the resources of the Mission would require to be tenfold to grapple with these, and effect immediate results. However, with patience the necessary railway will follow on achievement of success by the usual self-denying, slow, but more stable efforts, with which all Missions make their commencement.

“ We give a selection from the speeches only.

“ Mr. E. D. YOUNG, R.N., said : ‘ I would rather be a listener than a lecturer, but I will endeavour to tell you what I hope to do. About thirteen years ago I met with Dr. Livingstone on the Coast of Africa, at the mouth of the Nyassa River. I went with him to do exactly the same work I am about to go to do now—to try to put a vessel on that vast inland sea—Lake Nyassa, which has six hundred miles of coast. The object we had in view was the conversion of the natives, telling them how to live, and that there is something to live for, and something to die for. That was David Livingstone’s object, and I trust that will be our object in our new undertaking. We failed at that time, because the vessel we took there was too great. I remained with Dr. Livingstone during two years, and during that time I heard the wail of the African, I saw him down-trodden, I saw him in slavery, my heart went with him, and I thought within myself, that if England knew all about that, surely she would stretch forth her hand to help him. My wish has come at last, and although I never thought to leave England again, yet I think this is the time for Africa ; I am quite willing to

give up all and go again. But I must not go on too fast with my remarks. I remained two years and upwards with Dr. Livingstone, and therefore gained some knowledge of the country; and Livingstone having failed in some points, I have profited by his experience. I left the country, and two or three years after that Livingstone was reported to be murdered, and the news came home to England. I did not believe the news, and I said that if the natives told the truth it was the first time they had done so. I knew the natives of that part of the country. I said I would go to see if the Doctor was still alive. I went out again to the spot where he was supposed to be murdered, and came back to England and reported that the story was false. My report was confirmed by Livingstone himself on his last journey. I was in Westminster Abbey with Dr. Stewart, who is the most hard-working man in Africa. He would be a smart man that could keep time with David Livingstone, and he is a smart man that can keep time with Dr. Stewart.' (Laughter.) 'At Dr. Livingstone's funeral I met with Dr. Stewart for the first time for eleven years. I knew nothing then about this proposed Mission, but still my heart was in Africa, and I thought then that he never spent his life in vain, and I believe God will raise up men to carry out His work there. This Mission that is proposed is a grand and noble one; it is worth living for to do it, and it is worth dying for. Little did I think when I parted with Dr. Stewart then that I was to see him again. I saw that the Mission was proposed, and I remembered my wife saying that she did not wish Dr. Stewart to come here.' (Laughter.) 'But he came, and he laid the thing before me fairly, and I could not resist the temptation. I must go again. I thought it was practicable; I thought it could be done, and I thought I could do it; and with the help of God I shall attempt to do it. That is how the case stands at present. I am a sailor, and have been upon the sea a great part of my life. I will go and try to do it. I will not say I am to do it; I look to a higher power for aid. Now is the time for Africa. The last time when I visited Africa I took with me a small boat made of steel. We carried it in pieces across the country, and when we reached the lake we screwed her up. I went from England, and returned in seven months with the report that Livingstone was not dead, but that he was in safety. We are going to try to do greater work still; we are going to do something that will astonish the natives—we are going to try to put

a small vessel there, and I think that will have a great effect. We will have two boats—one for river navigation as far as the cataracts, and I may tell you that from that to the head of the cataracts there is a fall of 1,800 feet. Then we go sixty miles across the land, and we hope, after a hundred miles of river, to sail into Lake Nyassa, that vast fresh water sea, teeming with fish, and surrounded with thickly populated villages, and where the English have a good name; where some do not dare to march even with a rifle, an Englishman can go with his walking-stick. We were well received on that lake; every word the Chiefs told me was correct. I hope I shall meet those Chiefs again. We may be asked what will be the use of a steamer on Lake Nyassa. Well, it will have a great effect. There are tens of thousands of men and women who never saw the face of a white man. I myself was seen by tens of thousands who had never seen a white. I believe that spot will be the centre of African civilization; the Mission there will spread to all parts of the lake, and be the means of bringing a better state of things to pass in that benighted region where slavery has been carried on for many years, where thousands are hurried across that lake annually, forked together by the neck, to be sold as slaves. I cannot tell the enormities carried on by the slave dealers. It is quite a common thing that a whole village is surrounded, and the inhabitants taken by these slavers, who choose out all the young men and young women and children, and hook them together for the purpose of taking them away, and then they kill the old inhabitants on the spot to prevent them spreading the news. I myself have been on the slave track, and not only heard the wail of the slaves, but have seen thousands of skeletons strewn by the waysides. Those atrocities ought to be put a stop to, and knowing that it may be done and can be done, I am willing to give any sacrifice to do what I can. I never thought I would be in Aberdeen, or that I would ever go to Nyassa again, but it is the forerunner of a great work, and it commands the support of England and of every Christian man. Englishmen that go there don't need to fight; they have simply to tell the natives what is right and what is wrong, and supply them with a few rifles, and the African will do all that is required himself to put down the slave trade. Supply them with calico, and you can put an end to the slave trade. Establishing a Mission will be the means of stopping the trade there, for that is beginning

at the root, and it will tend more to the suppression of the trade than all the men-of-war on the coast of Africa. I hope to do this. No one can love England, home, wife, or children better than I, but at the same time there is a noble work to be done. I have been invited to do this work, and I will do my best to accomplish it.'

"The Rev. Dr. STEWART, Lovedale, Africa, said, that the proposed Mission was such as to call out the Christian sympathy and the prayers of those who, he believed, were the true constituents and real supporters of the Missionary work done in this world—the true praying Christian people of this country. If they got their support to build upon, they would have a good safe foundation on which to erect their superstructure. The idea of this Mission, he might say, dated almost as far back as 1861. When he went out to the Zambesi, he there made the acquaintance of Mr. Young, who had just addressed them. Four of them had been together at the burial of Dr. Livingstone's wife, and when those four next met, it was last April, in Westminster Abbey, at the funeral of Dr. Livingstone himself. The four to whom he referred were Rev. Horace Waller, the editor of 'Livingstone's Journals,' Dr. Kirk, Mr. Young, and himself. When the proposal had first become public after Livingstone's funeral, he himself could not, at any rate just yet, leave Lovedale. He looked about the country from John o' Groat's to Land's End, and at last about Dungeness he found the man they had seen to-night—Mr. Young—the right man for the expedition. He had known him a long time now, and he might tell them that it was twelve years before he knew to what Church he belonged. He knew only that he belonged to the Church of Christ. He understood that Mr. Young was an adherent to the persuasion of Mr. Spurgeon, and he said this in order that it might be known at this early stage that they were in no sense sectarian. If this Mission started for Africa in the course of the next six weeks or two months, it would have representatives of several Churches. They were specially connected with two Churches, whose Foreign Missions Committees were committed to the working out of the scheme: and there was another Church not formally committed at present, but expressing a great deal of sympathy in the cause, which was generously sending out an agent along with them, whose salary and outfit that Church was to be responsible for. It would thus be seen that the Mission rested on as broad a basis

was safe or necessary. Dr. Stewart then proceeded to speak on the desirability of this Mission, and urged in eloquent terms the necessity lying upon Christians to send out Missions to the heathen, to extend the light of Christianity to those whose life is a dark problem, and whose death is a darker mystery. As to the name proposed to be given to the settlement—Livingstone or Livingstonia, he did not care which—he might say that no eulogium was necessary on the name of David Livingstone, but if the settlement were called after him it would be well and worthily named. As to the practicability of the scheme, Dr. Stewart pointed out that one member of the expedition had been there twice already, and was to go out again; the good people of Scotland might have every confidence in the man who had appeared there to-night, for he was a Christian man, a brave man, and a man of great experience. Stewart had also been there himself, and expected to be there again shortly. The ordinary idea of a Missionary was a man with a white tie, attired in black clothes, with a hymn-book in his hand and a Bible under his arm, who went about preaching the natives under the trees. In Africa that alone would not do. The Missionary there should be acquainted with a number of employments, so as to raise the natives in the social scale. To effect the Christianizing and civilizing of Africa, they required a complete organization. They required, along with preaching, educational work or the school, industrial work or the workshop, in order to teach those fundamental arts that lie at the bottom of civilized life. They also required the aid of medical men. In the staff which had already been collected they had all these combined. The Medical Missionary, Mr. Laws, he might mention, was an Aberdeen man, and the carpenter, Mr. Johnston, was also an Aberdeen man. He thought that Aberdeen did uncommonly well in the way of providing Missionaries, not only to this but to other Missions. Aberdeen not only gave Missionaries, but generally provided men with true Aberdeen grit in them, and that was hard grit and stood a good deal. (Laughter.) What was the chief object of the Mission? It was to plant the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and if that was not desirable enough, great enough, grand enough, he did not know what object was desirable, or great, or grand. All things were subsidiary to the great end—the planting of the Tree of Life. He believed that the Mission of theirs would be the mother of many Missions;

for within a year or two after this, if God gave His blessing, he believed the Established Church of Scotland would probably plant a Mission there; and an Established Churchman was going out with the expedition in order to gain experience, to report to his Committee, to select a site, and to meet a party and lead them to it. He believed, too, that the United Presbyterians would either have another Mission or continue to co-operate with the Livingstonia Mission, and that the Universities' Mission would soon be in the field. If any great disaster overtook this Mission, not only would money and lives be lost, but the advance of Christianity in Africa would be retarded. He was not shutting his eyes to the danger with which they might be beset, and he sincerely hoped that no precaution or care would be overlooked, or fail to be taken in order to secure safety. The only fear he had of the Mission was that they might import too much of man into it and too little of God. The great natural danger to be feared was the malaria fever, but if that fever could be overcome everything would be gained. There was very little fear of difficulty with the natives. At a former meeting he had stated his belief that the results would be enormous, and some question had been put as to his meaning. He did not mean that they were to gather enormous wealth, or to do any startling thing, but this Mission would settle the question whether they could plant Christianity in this vast region, which, although it contains many feverish tracts, also contains many large regions, districts of hill and valley of great beauty and fertility, and of comparative healthiness, at any rate for a region lying within the tropics. As to Missionary results in Africa, he would only state that some thirty years ago the first native children had been enticed into the Institution at Lovedale by means of presents of beads and brass wire. He had just received the report of the Lovedale Mission for 1874, from which it appeared that nearly £1,100 had been paid during the year for the support of education within that Institution. £800 had been paid in 1873, and £1,500 in the same year had been contributed towards an offshoot of the Institution, so that in the course of two years the Mission had received the large sum of £3,400 from the natives. That shows that surely some advance has been made during the last thirty years. Already they had got handsome subscriptions in Aberdeen towards this proposed Mission, and he would say with all earnestness, 'Give us your sympathy, your prayers,

and may God speed and protect this Mission, inasmuch as if succeed the results will be very great.'

"Rev. A. ANDERSON, in supporting this motion, called special attention to the manner in which the work had been already passed. One lady had given up her work at another Mission in Africa, and had come home and studied medicine with the view of proceeding to Livingstonia. He hoped that the encouraging circumstances under which the Mission commenced were an augury of the great success that God was about to make safe.

"Mr. ROBERT LAWS, who was going out as a Medical Missionary, then shortly addressed the meeting. He said that he had been anxious to go out to Central Africa for years—as anxious as he was now that he was pledged to go. His years of study had been from a desire to fit himself for the work, and he recognised that a higher arm than his had guided him, and at step by step the way had been opened up for him.

"Mr. GEORGE JOHNSTON, the carpenter who is going out to the settlement, was introduced by Mr. Sloan, and spoke briefly. He had felt himself called upon to go to the work, and he went to it willingly and joyfully, trusting in God. He believed that working men had the heart, they would have the ability to serve God; and if they would go forth in their own sphere, they could see much more glorious results in Mission work."

LETTER FROM THE ZAMBESI MISSION PARTY.

"Zambesi River, Mouth Kongoni,

August 8th, 1875.

DEAR DR. STEWART,

"We sailed from Algoa Bay at 6.30 A.M. of July 6th, and after a safe though somewhat lengthy voyage crossed the bar of the Kongoni on the afternoon of the 23rd July.

"Several days during the voyage we had calms, and on the 4th were caught in a tornado. Coming astern, the only damage done was the snapping of the chain supporting the square sail. The most wearisome part of the journey was, after having sighted the coast, we were three days in making out the proper entrance of the river. These days were very dull, and with rain pouring in torrents. We crossed the river about 4 P.M., before high water, and found nine feet water. The vessel gave a slight bump on the bottom and was very soon afterwards lying at anchor in three fathoms inside.

“ There is no village at the mouth of the river now, but in the evening three natives came down to the bank of the river. From them we learned that one of the Portuguese lived not far off; and next day, while we were ashore, he appeared, attended by a number of slaves. On paying him a visit afterwards, I found him living in a miserable hut with two wives, and a slave, who for some offence was being punished by his neck being put in the hollow of a forked branch of a tree, over which a heavy beam was tied.

“ Saturday and Monday were employed in putting up a shed to keep off the sun's rays while working at the ‘Ilala.’ On Monday evening her keel was laid, and on the Tuesday week following she was successfully launched. Next day she was brought alongside the ‘Harah,’ and the boilers put in their places. On Saturday the masts were in, and steam up; everything being highly satisfactory. To-morrow we intend to start up the river.

“ On the 30th Mr. Henderson, Baker, Boquito, and a native crew went away to Mazaro in our beautiful teak boat, the ‘Ethiop,’ taking with them a load of provisions, &c. On Friday last they returned, having engaged four canoes to come down and take up our coals and other goods. We expect them to arrive to-day.....

“ Dr. Laws and Sambani have had colds: otherwise the health of the party has been good. Sambani, though not the quickest at work, takes the first place among our black boys, being evidently much more under the control of moral influences, and guiding his actions accordingly. I understand he has been endeavouring to communicate to the natives here some idea of the great purpose of our Mission.

“ On the evening our little vessel was launched, when the natives were gathered to receive their pay, we endeavoured to tell them some of the great truths of the Gospel. The hearty response of *Chakoma!* (‘Very good!’) left an impression on our minds which cannot readily be forgotten.

“ Altogether, we have very great reason to be thankful to our Heavenly Father for all the goodness and mercy He has bestowed upon us, and to Him we would render all the glory for what He has enabled us to accomplish.....

“ Sunday afternoon.—The canoes have arrived. Henderson was well received at Mazaro. The news of the country is very encouraging. No war, but things quiet. Mr. Young asked

me to write you for him, so hitherto I have written in his name. Now he is ashore to load the canoes, and asks me to finish it up for him, as he has got no writing done himself yet.....

"You may readily perceive we have not been idle here. Hard at work from sunrise to sunset. I should scarcely say 'hard' personally, for I have liked the work. One thing I can say, I have never sent Simpson or any of the others to do anything I have not been ready to do myself.....

"Knowing as you do the work we have on hand, you will not be surprised when I tell you, little writing has been done by any of us. We shall, however, report again to you from Mazaro.

"Meantime, with the best wishes of us all, I ever am

Yours affectionately,

ROBERT LAWS.

"P.S. It was 3.15 ere the mail-cart arrived that morning. The postmaster very kindly set me to look over the letters. Getting them I bundled off. All sail was set, expecting my arrival. Seeing me coming, they began to lift the anchor, and ere my feet were on deck she was off. We got one paper, the 'Daily Telegraph,' and also an 'Empire.' Mr. Y. is very much disappointed with the article in the 'Daily Telegraph,' as it misrepresents the object of the Mission so much.

"Tuesday, 10th.—We go up the river to-day.—R. L."

"In consequence of some misconception prevailing in various quarters as to the precise nature and objects of this Mission, we publish a portion of the Instructions issued by the Committee for the guidance of the Mission party. It is unnecessary to specify the incorrect statements, which have been made simply from misapprehension. They will be corrected through making known these Instructions, which will also have an interest to the friends of Missions."

"INSTRUCTIONS TO LAKE NYASSA MISSION PARTY FROM FOREIGN
MISSIONS COMMITTEE OF THE FREE CHURCH, WITH CON-
CURRENCE OF COMMITTEE OF REFORMED
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

"It is in your capacity as members of a pioneer Missionary Expedition into hitherto unevangelized regions that we now

address you ; and the peculiar character of your Mission will sufficiently account for the peculiarity of our instructions.

I. LEADERSHIP.—Mr. E. D. Young will be the leader of the Expedition from the day of embarkation until the Expedition shall have arrived at Lake Nyassa, and have launched the ‘ Ilala ’ on the lake.

“ The members of the Expedition are as follows : Mr. E. D. Young ; Rev. Dr. Robert Laws ; Mr. Henry Henderson (agent of the Established Church) ; Mr. George Johnston, carpenter, Mr. John Macfadyen, engineer and blacksmith ; Mr. Allan Simpson, second do. ; Mr. Alexander Riddel, agriculturist, Mr. William Baker, able seaman.

“ Mr. E. D. Young will have the management and control of all movements of the Expedition. Following him and second in charge is Dr. Laws. All the members of the Expedition are required to render to Mr. Young, or whoever is in charge, that respect that is due to one holding so important an office, and that obedience to orders which is necessary for the safety of the Expedition.

“ When Dr. Stewart arrives at Lake Nyassa, he shall have charge of and full authority over all the operations of the Mission for the whole period he continues there. In all arrangements as to choosing and finally fixing or subsequently removing the site of the proposed Station, and negotiations with Chiefs, the general management of the affairs of the Mission will be in his hands ; while for the safe navigation of the vessel on the lake Mr. Young will have the entire control and responsibility. Until Dr. Stewart arrives, Mr. Young will continue in charge.

“ II. SITE.—The following directions are given in reference to choosing the site—even though the particular locality may be regarded as temporary. Reasons may subsequently appear to make it advisable or necessary to alter the position first chosen ; but, generally, the north-east side of the promontory known as Cape Maclear is pointed out.

“ The immediate spot, if such can be found, should be a gravelly ridge with sufficient slope to admit of rapid drainage after rain. It should be as elevated as possible, without being inconveniently so, but within sight of, and of comparatively easy access to, the harbour which may be chosen below.

“ If such a position can be found, with a small area of a few acres of level and fertile land close by on which to form the

first fields and gardens, the spot may be regarded as suitable. It will be still more so, if, from any higher land above, a stream coming from a fountain, and which is found running in the dry season, either passes by, or can be made, through a detour of one or more miles, to pass by the Station.

“ Regard should also be had as to the direction of the prevailing wind, and no position should be chosen to the leeward of any swamp or marshy land. Several of these points, however, can only be settled by lengthened observation on the spot.

“ III. PURCHASE OF LAND FOR SITE.—It may or may not be advisable to attempt to purchase that at first. That depends entirely on the temper of the Chief and the people who may have to be dealt with. They may or may not be willing to sell, but if it can be done, the purchase should be made; at all events it should be clearly understood that the Chief publicly ‘gives’ the land as long as it may be wanted. The quantity asked should not be large, simply sufficient for a good-sized native village, with field or gardens, and with right of way to the cove or harbour where the boats lie.

“ IV WAGES TO NATIVE PORTERS AND LABOURERS.—This rate should be fixed at first at the very lowest amount for which portorage can be obtained.

“ It will be simply impossible to develop an industrial settlement with high rates for passing into or out of the country on a short section of the journey; and it will be some time before transport by animals can be established.

“ V STORES.—All stores for barter are to be regarded as money, and regular entries, full and in detail, are to be kept of the different expenditures. These details are required for guidance in the estimating of costs for future operations of various kinds, as well as for rendering an account of the different sums sent abroad. Fifteen thousand yards of calico, as well as other barter goods, are sent out, and these, as well as all other stores, should be entered in a book, and the charge of the whole given to one of the members of the staff, who is to be held responsible for the expenditure of the goods and also for their frequent inspection.

“ VI. DAILY JOURNAL.—For some considerable time—perhaps for two or three years—a daily journal should be kept, recording all matters of general interest, and specially, records of daily temperature (three observations if possible), atmospheric

changes, the setting in of rains, the direction of winds, the kind of daily employment engaged in by the staff, and immediately following on this, a statement on the health of the party, thus—‘All well; general health good, or excellent. Sick list—none;’ or ‘Sick list—one; A. B. ill of fever, slight attack—or, prolonged attack.’ State facts only at first—give inferences after a time when there appear to be sufficient data to explain any illness, as the connexion between kind of weather, work, and diet, or special exposure. This work is committed to Dr. Laws as part of his duty as medical officer, and as second in charge at present. If the form of entry is tabulated and abbreviated, the record can easily be made in a few minutes.

“It may appear as if undue importance were being attached to this part of the instructions, but it will probably be discovered that on correct information of this kind the welfare and continued success of this Mission is greatly dependent. We know as yet too little of the causes which influence health in that country.

“The book is to be submitted to Mr. Young’s inspection occasionally, say once or twice a week, and the substance of its contents to be communicated, from time to time, to the Committee of the Free Church, for the information and guidance of the Committees of the co-operating Churches.

“Without laying restriction on private communications of members of the Expedition to their friends at home, details of the work and progress of the Expedition itself are not to be published, except under the revision and with the consent of the Committees.

“VII. FIRST EFFORTS, AFTER OBTAINING A SITE.—The site having been obtained, the first thing to be done will be to erect huts, round or square, and get all the goods, as well as the whole party, safely housed before the rains. This should be done before any attempt is made to sail round the lake. There will be some difficulty at that season in obtaining thatch, but greater efforts must on that account be made. To secure yourselves, so as to preserve health; to secure the stores from injury, by frequent examination; to gain the confidence of the natives, by letting it be widely known what your real objects are; by encouraging them to bring various articles, chiefly goods, for sale, and especially by buying from them as soon as possible a certain number of goats, sheep, and cattle—if they are to be had—so as to secure a small herd or flock, will be

work enough for the first few months. It will be of little use, however, buying these animals unless they are well protected at night.

“At the proper season the half of all the seeds taken should be sown in a well-fenced garden. The first efforts in this direction are more by way of experiment. Allow a portion of all the plants and vegetables to come to seed for further use.

“Your first and constant and most important duty will be so to live and act, by attention to diet, to hours of work and rest, by avoidance of undue or needless exposure, as to keep up a fair amount of health. Nothing will do the enterprise more good at home than favourable reports of all the members of the staff; and nothing will do it so much injury as a report that the general health is low, or that some have had to be invalided and sent home. The attention of all is recommended to the Rev. Horace Waller’s pamphlet on the African fever.

“VIII. DIRECT MISSIONARY WORK.—From the first this may be carried on in an indirect way by the services of morning and evening worship, which should be steadily kept up by the party unitedly, as well as the more special services in a simple form on Sundays at first. So far as you can trust your interpreters, you shall lose no time in making known to the natives the *grand leading object* of your Mission, which is the enlightenment of their minds, the salvation of their souls, and, as the sure consequent of all this, the elevation of their character and the improvement of their general condition, individual and social. With this view you may begin early to communicate the simple truths of the Bible whenever you have an opportunity; although for a lengthened period the most effective way by which the Gospel can be understood by the natives will be through your holy characters and consistent lives. At first, however, your efforts should be very specially directed to the acquisition of the language.

“The regular commencement of school work for teaching the young is not of absolute necessity at first, but some effort to gather the children for an hour a day to begin with should not be too long delayed; nor need there be any discouragement if the attendance is exceedingly irregular, and if there should not be for some considerable time any right comprehension on the part of the people of what is really intended to be done. The arrangements of this may be left to Dr. Laws.

“IX. ACTIVE INTERFERENCE WITH THE SLAVE TRADE.—On

this difficult question no rule can be laid down, except this, which is *absolute, and to be scrupulously observed by all the members of the party, that active interference by force initiated on your side is in no case, and on no account whatever, to be resorted to.* By showing the people in kindly, loving, conciliatory ways, that they are acting against their own interests, and destroying themselves in carrying on this trade, more will be gained in the long run, than by any armed interference with Arab caravans.

“It should never be forgotten that the first shot which is fired in any hostilities against Arab or native slave-dealers will do more to paralyse the varied efforts of the members of the Expedition than any temporary success in the liberation of slaves can possibly counterbalance. Any act of this kind will also immediately surround the Mission with an atmosphere of insecurity which years will not disperse. It will make always difficult, and sometimes dangerous, those short journeys, in all directions round the Station, which should be undertaken from time to time, in order to become acquainted with the people and gain their confidence, and from which, if they are wisely arranged, much good is expected. It will take away the minds of all the staff from that peaceful daily labour by which alone the settlement will be firmly established in the land; and on the mind of the public in this country the effects arising from a report of any hostile encounter, will be very disastrous as regards the future support of the Mission.

“The only circumstances in which fire-arms can be justifiably used will be in self-defence, or in case of actual attack, which is scarcely likely to happen; but if this should occur, you will of course be bound to defend yourselves. But under all circumstances of this nature, it will be better to try the effect of conciliation, forbearance, and patient endurance to the uttermost, and even to retire for a time. Livingstone's Journals will be found to supply some excellent examples of what is here indicated.

“X. GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NATIVES.—Those who are new to the country, and inexperienced as regards the native people, should remember that they require much explanation in all dealings with them; that patience is never thrown away upon them; that they fear and respect a man who, under the discipline of self-control, is habitually quiet and firm in his demeanour, and who never loses his temper. If you can

habitually thus act, you will gain their esteem. In no case break your word to them, even though you have made a mistake in a bargain, or in promising too much on any payment. On the other hand, in no case let them, through unguardedness or want of proper inquiry on your part, overreach you. At all times make bargains and agreements perfectly clear. Counsel peace always between tribes and neighbours, and in case of any tribal difficulty do not take any side, if you can possibly avoid taking it; and be in no hurry to do so. Never believe the first report that goes through the country, until further inquiry make the truth plain; and in dealing both with individuals and with the people assembled in the villages, when you enter them on any business, remember that simple acts of kindness and courtesy are never thrown away even on a savage people.

“XI. MINOR SUGGESTIONS.—1. The health of the party will be greatly promoted by any well-continued system of recreation, in the shape of entertainments to the native people, or occasional formal holidays among the staff, themselves. This suggestion will be difficult to carry out, but it may be productive of good, and, if properly done, will tend to dissipate little differences, coldness, or quarrels that may arise among the members of the staff. Remember and turn to practical account Dr. Kane's experience in the Arctic regions. Your position at first will be nearly as isolated from Europeans, with the opposite extreme of temperature.

“2. *Hunting*.—No restrictions are of course imposed, except that you do not neglect your regular work, and do not expose your lives to unnecessary dangers; but a suggestion may not be unnecessary. The tendency of many, when first entering such a region as the Zambesi, is to fire at animals of all kinds which may come across one's path. A reckless waste of life is thus occasioned, and many harmless creatures are thus wantonly destroyed. All animals fit for food are fair game, and all noxious animals and beasts of prey are so also. But in the pursuit of these, especially of harmless animals for food, you should always take into account the distance at which you aim, and also the kind of weapon which you have at hand to use. To fire at an animal at a very great distance, on the bare chance of hitting it in some part not vital, is often to inflict needless cruelty on God's creatures. They are His, and He cares for them. In the circumstances just mentioned, the wounded animal generally escapes only to drag out a miserable life, while

no real advantage is gained, and ammunition is only thrown away. The same remark applies to using a single light weapon against very large animals.

“XII. CONCLUSION.—In all the different stages of this work, the Committee hope and believe that each of the members of the staff will bear in mind that both the present and ultimate objects of the Mission are very different from those of any scientific, commercial, or exploring expedition. The spirit and the methods which give success in the latter are very different from those necessary to secure real and permanent success in the former.

“Difficulties may and will probably arise, and services be required, which cannot at present be foreseen. In all these, resist the tendency to dissatisfaction and division which is apt to rise, and which, when it takes possession of you, will rob you of half your strength. Live in brotherly affection and harmony among yourselves; and strive to overcome slight estrangements of feeling. In order to do this, bear ever in mind the Divine exhortation, ‘Love one another with a pure heart fervently.’ Beware of rash steps and of resolutions formed in temper, or in the irritability and excitement of brain which precedes an attack of fever generally by one day, or after the attack has set in. Beware equally of the first speck or germ of doubt which may appear in your mind as to your calling in God’s providence to this work. You are in it for the time being. Don’t think of failure as probable, for that is the beginning of defeat. Think, however, of the great issues that are dependent on your success, and how disastrous to the cause of Christianity any failure would be. It should never be forgotten that the success of such a Mission is to be judged of in the light of great ultimate and permanent results, and not with reference to any adventurous or exciting incidents in connexion with its origin and progress.

“Look to God in all your difficulties. Put your trust in Him, while at the same time you relax no effort which experience or wisdom or resolution may suggest. Be much in prayer, individually by yourselves and socially with one another. Remember the special promise to a genuine co-partnership in prayer: ‘If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them.’ Seek God’s guidance, protection, and blessing on yourselves, your associates, and your work. Believingly expect to receive all these in some

form or another, if you sincerely ask them, and leave the result, with filial confidence, in your Heavenly Father's hands. And one of the surest ways of realizing all this, and much more, is ever to keep steadfastly in view the grand paramount object of your arduous but noble Mission, which is to prepare the way for bringing the Gospel of grace and salvation, through the finished work and mediation of God's Eternal Son and the work of His Holy Spirit, effectively to bear on the souls of the sons and daughters of poor benighted Africa, who, lost like all the world besides in the wreck and ruin of the fall, have for ages been made to groan under evils and oppressions peculiarly their own.

“ ‘And now, brethren, farewell. We commend you to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified. Be perfect, be of good comfort; be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.’ ‘The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.’

ALEX DUFF, } *Conveners.*
JOHN KAY, }

LETTER FROM MR. E. D. YOUNG, R.N., TO THE COMMITTEE.

“*River Shire (Upper), October 24th, 1875.*

“I HAVE the honour to report for the information of the Committee that the steamer ‘Ilala’ was successfully launched on the 6th inst., and started for Nyassa on the 8th, which was reached on the 12th. The steamer is quite a success—sails well, and steams seven knots with the one boiler. Our party are all quite well, and in good spirits.

“Before entering Lake Nyassa, I called on the powerful Chief Mponda, and informed him of the object of our Mission. He appeared very pleased, and at once gave us permission to settle on any part of his land. He is owner of the whole of the Cape Maclear peninsula.

“We took a running survey of the whole coast with very fine weather; and although there are many delightful spots fit for a settlement, none offers sufficient protections to the steamer except a beautiful bay at Cape Maclear, where we have decided to settle for the time; and I have left Dr. Laws with three of our party and some negroes to build houses, while I have come down here to fetch the remainder of our stores. I have now

all on board, and start again for Nyassa to-morrow. I called on Mponda on our way down, and he promised to send a party of negroes up to build houses. He is the most powerful Chief in the Nyassa district, and very favourably disposed towards the English, and wishes me to take him home with me. At his place there were several Arabs with a great number of slaves bound to the coast. I saw them viewing me through the crowd of negroes when I landed, and called them. They were very much frightened, and were astonished beyond measure to see a steamer up there, and no doubt think their slaving days are ended. I took a cruise round the lower end of the lake to look out for a good harbour, when I observed a slave dhow. We soon came up with her, and as soon as I hoisted the English flag they lowered their sail, and said, when I went on board, they had no slaves in ; neither had they, but she was bound for a cargo. The owner was on board. He was from Zanzibar, and could speak a little English. He talks of getting rid of his dhow, no doubt thinking if the English are come she will be of no further use. There are five of them sailing on the lake carrying slaves across. To stop the slave-trade there, is a very easy matter. Mponda, for a few pieces of calico, will not permit slaves to pass the south end of the lake and the river. The Mazitu are in possession of the northern coast. As far as I can gather, 20,000 slaves are conveyed across annually.

“ We have received no news from England since leaving the Cape.

“ I must now honestly confess to the Committee that, as far as I can judge, the Mission thus far is quite a success. God be praised, for he has wonderfully prospered us. I am myself quite well, and up to work, but worn down to a mere part of my former self with overwork ; but it has kept the fever away, and I shall now, no doubt, soon gain flesh. On Nyassa the climate is delightful ; the beautiful sea breeze quite braces you up. We have everything we desire or require out here in the shape of provisions and stores for the present, but shall require oil for the engines soon. I don't know of a single complaint or hitch of any sort with any of the party. Whether or not, I have done my best for the party and the Mission in general ; and I trust the Committee will approve of what has been done as yet : but, under God's blessing, I look for greater things yet ; that is, to see the longing desire of my heart

accomplished,—the ending of the cursed slave trade in this region. I write this hurried letter in great haste, and send it down by a faithful negro who was formerly in my service, and who has promised to take it four hundred miles, even on foot, to Mazaro, on the Zambesi, for me. Let not the people of Scotland call them savages. No; they are good, kind, honest people, loving the very name of the English, and only desirous of being taught. Surely this is the country for Missions. Here we are on a great and fine inland sea, with seven hundred miles of coast, which you can get to from the sea coast in three weeks, now that communication is established. On the Lower Shire there are thousands and thousands of natives imploring the English to come to them, so there is no risk to run from hostilities from them. With the two boilers on board the vessel was top-heavy; but fitted with one, as my very great friend Mr. Young of Kelly suggested, she is a fine sea boat, as I proved on Nyassa in a gale of wind. Please inform the Committee that I am still full of zeal for the cause of the Mission, and am still their most humble and obedient servant,

“E. D. YOUNG.”

LETTER FROM DR. LAWS.

“*Cape Maclear, Lake Nyassa, October 19th, 1875.*”

“ANOTHER stage of our journey has been reached, and, for the time being, I suppose I may say Livingstonia is begun, though, at present, a piece of canvas stretched between two trees, forming a sort of tent, is all that stands for the future city of that name. I do not say that it will be on this particular spot, or on any within thirty miles of it, but, till this rainy season is over, this is fixed on as our place of abode.

“I am glad to say, only one more of our party had fever—Baker our seaman. And, since the recovery of the others, good health has been the order of the day. Several days I felt feeble enough, and my companions said I looked pale enough, as also did Mr. Young and Mr. Johnston, but the work had to be done, and we stuck to it. We did not get all the rivetting done that was intended, because it would have taken so much time, and kept us so long amid the horrid marsh, but the keel we rivetted from stem to stern, and the plates below the engine-room.

“On Wednesday, October 6th, the ‘Ilala’ was launched once more, after her name had been well painted on her bows. ‘God

speed you!' said Mr. Young, and a hearty 'Amen' was echoed by the whole of us. On the morning of the 8th we were on board, and began our journey up the river. That day we were apprehensive our boiler would prove a failure, but stopping early we got some alterations made on the draught of the furnace, and now, not having a current of great strength to contend with, we can go as fast as we require with one.

"On our way up we passed through some of the grandest scenery I have ever beheld. Hills towering, some of them two to three thousand feet above the plain, while the river wound its way through a level valley. At some places we found villages of from twenty to two hundred inhabitants; and again, we might steam along for thirty or forty miles without seeing a human face. Along these untenanted plains game is very abundant. A herd of thirty or forty bucks, the size of young calves, was by no means rare, and I have seen one herd numbering at least five hundred. When fired at, they will sometimes stand and stare till two or three shots have been sent among them, and then take to their heels fast enough. I saw three groups of elephants, four, six, and eight in number, while a little farther on we passed an enormous 'rogue' with tusks like a man's leg.

"On October 11th we steamed through Lake Pamolombi, the northern and western sides of which are studded with villages, but having usually marshy reeds round them. Entering the Shire again at the northern end of Lake Pamolombi, we passed three or four large villages and then anchored for the day, opposite the village of Mapunda or Chimpunda, as the natives call him. He was very kind to Dr. Livingstone, and, as his territory extended up to the Lake, it was quite necessary we should be on friendly terms with him. Here we found two slave-trading Arabs, who, I suspect, were far from relishing our arrival; and, as Mr. Young wore his uniform cap on going ashore, they noticed it, and evidently knew the badge very well. The old Chief appeared quite friendly, but could not be persuaded to come on board. He spread a mat for us to sit on, but our legs not being quite so flexible as theirs, we were supplied with greasy pillows as stools. We sat under the protecting leaves of his large house, surrounded by scores of his people, while a house in front of us was occupied by his wives, at least thirty or forty in number, who, on their knees, were looking across at the white strangers; while the Arabs, by and

by, came along to bid us good morning, one carrying a large broad-bladed spear, the other a sword which he evidently wished us to take notice of, and which we certainly were not afraid of. Mapunda, like most other Chiefs and Africans, seems to enjoy his pombe (native beer) very much. While talking with us, three of his wives came with a huge calabash full; and while one presented it to him, the others, on their knees, kept gently rubbing his back, breast, and stomach,—I suppose, with the intention of shaking it well down to make room for more.

“ We told old Mapunda our errand: that we wished to settle on the lake, and asked him how far his territory extended. We find it goes all round Cape Maclear, right over the western side, on which he has two villages. At his village we found Wakotani, a boy who had been servant to Bishop Mackenzie, then educated at Bombay, and had gone back with Dr. Livingstone to Mapunda’s, where he has now, I am sorry to say, got two wives, though baptized as a Christian. Mapunda was presented by us with a coloured blanket and quilt, two or three shirts, some cloth, beads, and a gun. He gave us liberty to settle on his land, and sent Wakotani (his brother-in-law) and another man to help us in choosing a spot. Two of our interpreters were ashore all night, and it was evident the Arabs wished to checkmate us, and had been telling stories, that we were come to take Mapunda’s land, &c. These stories were partly, at least, counteracted by our boys, but still they will be a great annoyance to us. Some eight or ten of these Arabs are making a circuit round a large territory at present, to procure slaves, and will carry them across the lake in their dhows. As we left next morning we showed them a little what our steamer could do in the way of speed, and, with the British ensign flying at her peak, she looked well indeed. Passing the northern end of the village, which may contain say three or four thousand people, we saw two slaves standing with the yoke on their neck, and their hands tied behind them. It was a sight which made my blood boil within me.

“ On the morning of the 12th of October we steamed toward the lake. Soon its blue waters were in sight, and at 6.30 A.M., as the sun rose over the eastern hills, we entered the lake, praying that our coming might herald the Sun of Righteousness, and dispel the darkness which for centuries has reigned over this vast continent. At worship that morning the Hun-

dredth Psalm seemed to have a new beauty and depth of meaning as its notes floated over the blue waves.

“On the eastern coast of Cape Maclear, we examined several little bays and apparent harbours, but none were quite satisfactory. Towards evening, we rounded the Cape, a huge rocky hill, and anchored in a bay opposite the western of the two islands you see on the map. In the evening we had a walk ashore. There is a large plain some four miles long, and a valley running southwards between the hills, while we have a beautiful view of the lake. Next five days, after having got wood, we went round the western side of the lake, as far north as Benje Island, then across the lake, and reached the east coast at a more northerly point than had been previously seen by any white man, then down its eastern side till opposite the lake, and across to Cape Maclear. When we reached a point on the east coast nearly opposite where it is, we passed the sites where three large villages formerly stood, and another where the Arabs at one time had a settlement, and where Mr. Young saw several large sheds full of slaves, when he was here last time. They and the inhabitants of the next village had been driven out by war.

“An incident of Friday, 15th, may be interesting to you. While sailing northward along the west coast, a sail appeared ahead. Of course an Arab dhow. She lay right in our path, and we were at once face to face with the question of liberty or slavery—which? I felt it to be an anxious moment for decision. Up went Mr. Young’s white ensign, on his uniform cap, and as we were some distance off, the order was, ‘Reserve steam.’ Mr. Young and I were standing at the bow, glasses in hand, watching the movements of the vessel. Mr. Young after a little said, ‘The dhow has seen us and altered her course.’ ‘Baker, take the helm and stand across her bows.’ Soon we were coming close, and the dhow’s tremendous lump of a sail was lowered. Our little dingy was pulled up. Baker took the oars, Mr. Young and I jumped in, a few strokes of the oars and we were alongside the dhow. Mr. Young leapt on board and I at his heels. Our Arab friends were terribly frightened. Mahomet, the master, had been at Zanzibar, and could speak broken English; knew our flag and Mr. Young’s cap, and had a rough guess of the probable consequences of falling into the hands of the English. Johnston, watching the proceedings from the deck of the ‘Ilala,’ declared

that Mahommet never was so nearly a white man all his life. There were no slaves aboard, and so we were relieved of all trouble regarding further action. At the same time Mahommet got such a fright that he will be very cautious as to further slaving.

"Mr. Young goes down to the top of the cataracts to-morrow morning, while Henderson, Johnston, Riddel, and I remain to build houses. We have got a supply of rice, and ground Indian corn, and some fowls, and are quite comfortable.

"There are no natives close here, but soon we shall have as many as we like, as they will gather round. We are in a commanding position to begin with, because, with our steamer at hand, we occupy the centre of a circle of some thirty to forty miles' radius, with six or eight large villages from which we can obtain supplies, and to whom I hope we shall yet be able to communicate the blessings of the Gospel of Peace.

"I suppose I shall have to learn two languages here, as both Merganja and Ajawa are spoken within range of our steamer; but I should like to know more of the coast and its people before I can say which is of most importance."

"LAET Tuesday, May 28th, (1876,) a letter was received here (Lovedale) from our friends at Lake Nyassa. There is some obscurity about the date, as it was a continuous letter, written as opportunity offered; but it is believed to have been sent off in February. At that date the party were all well, though they had a little fever. Dr. Laws says, 'After getting ourselves and everything made snug for the rains, and having the early rains over Mr. Young, Henderson, Baker, McFadyen, and myself had a turn round the lake in the steamer. We found its north end reached to Lat. 9° 20' S, and that there is a large river flowing in or out. We could not land, as the weather was stormy at the time; but the first natives we met declared it flowed out of the lake, and called it the Rovuma. Others said it flowed in. Some of ourselves were of opinion that it is actually the Rovuma which goes down to the east coast, entering the sea just north of Cape Delgado. My own opinion is, first, that it is not the Rovuma, and, second, that it flows into the lake. Several other small rivers were seen, most of them with marshy outlets. On the east side for about a hundred miles a

range of lofty mountains rises abruptly out of the lake, and to a great elevation. They are chiefly the older metamorphic rocks. The western side at the north has a gently sloping plain between it and the mountains, and for a long distance at certain places there is a border of marsh. This will make certain portions of the edge of the lake malarious. At present the natives are driven into these marshy regions. They seem to think these are the places of greatest security to them—while it would be death to us to live in these swamps.'

“ ‘The natives are gradually gaining confidence in us, though as yet none of them have removed their villages to live with us. A good many have promised to do so as soon as their crops are ripe. Their growing confidence is something to be thankful for, considering that in the three villages nearest to us most of the children of fourteen years of age have been carried away as slaves. There are five slave dhows on the lake. We have seen two while crossing, and other two we saw at Kota-Kota. A slave gang passed up the coast a week or two ago, but we have never come actually into contact with them. And at Cape Maclear we are well rid of any such meeting. Though as desirous to be a man of peace as any one can be, I really would not promise as to how I might act were I to see a gang of slaves marched off before my eyes, and I question if you would stand coolly by and see it done yourself. Don't let this alarm you as to my conduct in the Mission. I am by no means given to desperately rash actions.'

“ Dr. Laws then gives a description of a number of Chiefs whom they visited. There is considerable similarity of human nature all the world over, as well as considerable individual diversity; and the account of the different Chiefs whom they have seen verifies this. Mapunda he describes as tall and stout, and an inveterate drinker, with the drunkard's cough and paunch; frivolous in what he says, and, like many other African Chiefs, rather greedy, and always wanting medicine for his cough, his guns, and his wives, of whom the number is very great: Dr. Laws says they number ninety.

“ ‘Another Chief, Mankanjeera, lives in the large bight W. by N. of Cape Maclear. I have seen him once, he is quite another style of man—thin, thoughtful, with large eyes, and quiet in his demeanour compared with the babbling Mapunda. He has a brother who has been down at Zanzibar, and seems to be an agreeable fellow. We met him (the brother) first at

a village called Quarra, and gave him a short sail in the steamer, with which he was highly delighted. He, and I think Makanjeera, can talk Arabic. Both are quite friendly with us, and mutual presents were exchanged. I asked Makanjeera if he would like an Englishman to live on his land and teach his people. He said he was quite willing they should do so. Arab influence is, however, very strong with them all on the lake, and time and caution will have to be exercised regarding our dealings with the Chiefs. I like the appearance of M. very much, and some of the children at Quarra, one of his villages, would almost come and stay with us; and this in due time will, I doubt not, be the case.'

"The country at several places is reported as being considerably changed: villages are found on the Shire where for some distance none were found before; and on certain parts of the lake, where villages were numerous in 1868, the inhabitants are few and the villages small in size and built on piles in the lake some distance from the water's edge; while along the coast ruined villages, broken pots, and bleaching bones are common sights everywhere. No better picture could be drawn of the state of the country visited by slavers. We have seen this before now; and have seen those scared dwellers in reedy places fly like deer at the breaking of a few twigs under the footsteps of the passing traveller. There is nothing in this picture that has not been witnessed hundreds of times already in the history of this unhappy continent. Wherever those carrion-kites of the slaving business make their fell swoop, the district previously full of busy simple life becomes a desert. A very few years are sufficient for the depopulating process, for the villagers, never knowing at night what may befall them before morning, are ever ready to flee. Those who have built their villages on piles are ready at any moment to fly, hoping by water and in darkness to escape. Happily also a very few years of peace are sufficient to re-people a district, and so the process of emptying and filling vast districts of the African continent goes on, and will go, till the Gospel and commerce put a stop to the devil's work.

"Dr. Laws' letter concluded with this statement: 'We have a splendid field here for native catechists or men from Lovedale. In a short time we shall be ready for them. Most of the Manganja are gathered round the Makololo. This I believe to be a most important field to hold.' A few days before, we

received two letters containing offers from some gentlemen in Glasgow to aid in paying native assistants in the new field. This concurrence of a call to work seems to indicate that something should be done. . The matter was placed before all the young men of the Institution at three consecutive meetings on Wednesday and Thursday last. Abundance of time was given for inquiries and expression of opinion. Fourteen in all offered their services in different capacities as evangelists, teachers, and tradesmen. Those who know Africans, will know very well that this is not a very usual result of inquiries for men willing to go to a great distance in the service of Christ. Six of these will be selected, and accepted, subject to some extent to approval of their Missionaries, and contingent to some slight extent on their other engagements. The names of the selected six will be given again. Some of their Missionaries will probably disapprove. Some have already done so, on the ground that it interrupts the studies of these young men. But this is just as if we could never build the house—because we are so busy making bricks! We have been making bricks long enough surely, in training or trying to train men for forty years! Those who offer, if they are suitable, should be allowed to go. They should be allowed and encouraged to go in the interests and for the credit of past Missionary labour in this country, and for the credit of the sons of Africa. It is necessary that when a call of this kind comes some sort of response should be made. No cause has taken root in any country if it fails to produce its own apostles and missionaries

“At the close of the last meeting Mr. Macready, foreman of the masons, rose and proposed that an Outfit Fund for those proceeding to Lake Nyassa should be formed. This was heartily agreed to, and a committee formed on the spot to carry out the object of the motion. The party will probably sail about the beginning of July, in company with the reinforcements now on their way from Scotland. These consist of the Rev. Dr. Black and several others; of a small staff for the separate Mission on behalf of which Mr. Henderson went last year as pioneer; and of Mr. Cotterill, son of Bishop Cotterill, lately Bishop of Grahamstown, who goes in the interests of legitimate commerce, with the view of examining the capabilities of the country.”

The last quotation had reference to Lovedale, where plans were being prepared and Native Helpers called for,



when *fourteen trained African* youths offered to accompany the expedition.

The following quotation finds the party at Port Elizabeth ready for embarkation, after the arrival of Dr. Black and his coadjutors; in the midst of a large, influential, and enthusiastic meeting, gathered together for the purpose of manifesting sympathy in this great work, giving a right hearty Christian farewell to Dr. Stewart and his companions in Missionary toil and danger, and wishing them "God speed."

The spirit of Dr. Stewart, as manifested in his, speech,—from which an extract is given,—is very characteristic: the writer would have known who delivered that speech, had no name been prefixed to it. It breathes an eminently modest Christian spirit; not over sanguine on the one part, nor desponding on the other; not insensible to difficulty and danger, yet not quailing before them; at the same time, pervaded with a deep conviction of the necessity of prayerful dependence upon the blessing of God, and entreating that the members of the Christian Churches then assembled would not withhold the benefit of their earnest supplications. The Churches may fairly calculate that with men of such a prayerful spirit, and swayed by such high motives, the results must be favourable.

This is the second Missionary expedition to Lake Nyassa, and is more directly connected with the *Established Church* of Scotland; the former being the outgrowth of the *Free Church*. But the spirit of harmony so far pervades both that the agents co-operate as though they were only the representatives of one Church. As they will not both occupy the same locality on the lake, they purpose being sufficiently near to each other to afford mutual assistance; and thus, whilst far removed from the cheering presence of the civilized white man, they will be able to strengthen each other's hands in the Lord.

The accompanying lithograph presents excellent likenesses of the leading members of this expedition.

DR. STEWART'S FAREWELL SPEECH, JULY 26TH, 1876.

....."Now as to what the future would be, they had, if he

might use a technical expression, a projection for this Livingstonia. They might not live to see it filled in, but he hoped in the course of time they would be able to form there a sort of government that should afford a sort of protection to all the country round about. It might not come very rapidly, and it might probably take some considerable time, and he could not say, nor could any man say, whether they should live to see it. There was, however, one great question to be settled, and that would be settled within the next two or three years, and be settled by some of those then present, who might become the *corpus vile*—the actual subjects of the experiments. That was, how far Englishmen and Scotchmen—they were all Englishmen or Scotchmen or other men—how far they could in that country preserve their health, their mental and bodily vigour, and live, and whether they could do there as in an ordinarily healthy country like this. That question was not settled yet. It was all very well to talk of the high lands of Central Africa, and say that every one could live there. They must remember, as they got into the clouds they got into humidity, and there was a position that had been occupied there where they had been dripping morning, noon, and night. They must take care when they got high up into the air, whether figuratively or literally, that they did not come down again somewhat too rapidly. Now they must be careful not to get too high into the air about the Livingstonia business; he liked to keep them low down, and let them proceed carefully, taking one step at a time, and laying the foundation deep, remembering that the gracious God in His goodness had some precious end towards the depraved blacks in this country, and would bring them forth to a crown of life. If at first they did not receive great news, let them not be disappointed. He would proceed in this work just as he would have left Port Elizabeth, quietly, and he did not expect in the first few years to make anything but the slightest progress. Let them not expect to convert the natives in any large number, or to make civilized men of them all at once. Port Elizabeth had a very small beginning, and now the monument of their enterprise was around them. They should at all events have with them the minister, the doctor, and the artist, things that Port Elizabeth had not for a long time after it was Port Elizabeth. He hoped the expedition would proceed slowly, and that gradually there would grow up, as there had grown up here, a monument of energy, where

they had built a town on a lot of sand hills and dunes. Now let them look around them at the monument of the perseverance and intelligence of the British people. If only they had health and strength something of this sort might be done in the interior. What he should expect to be the first news was that the expedition had failed, for there was never yet anything great started that it did not very early have to take a plunge in the Slough of Despond. The question was, would they come out on the other side or retreat to this? The individual Christian had not long made his start in life before he came to the side of this slough, and so it would be with them, although he could not tell when or where, and if they got through this then he thought they would be on the fair way. They would see that his views were not very encouraging, but encouragement would come in good time. Having referred to their carrying with them medical men and an artist, as well as a trader, who would be glad to sell to natives, who had hitherto clothed themselves in bark, calico, which they would be glad to buy, he went on to say, the most precious thing they took with them was the Gospel.".....

The first of the following letters from Dr. Stewart details the course of events from the embarkation of the party on board the "Ansgarius" at Port Elizabeth to their arrival at Quillimane; and gives a lively account of their debarkation, the state of the town, the number, character, and circumstances of the people. The second letter records the safe arrival of the whole company at Livingstonia, and furnishes most interesting particulars of their journey thither. Every true Christian is bound to give thanks to God for His goodness in thus prospering the work of His servants, and to continue in prayer for their further success.

LETTER FROM REV. DR. STEWART.

"We arrived here safely last Wednesday, August 8th, and dropped anchor opposite the town about ten o'clock in the morning. The steamer 'Ansgarius' which we had the good fortune to get is a Swedish vessel from Stockholm. It is so named after the first Christian Missionary who went to that country somewhere about the eighth century, and the vessel

belongs to one of the Missionary Societies of that city. There are two or three Societies, but the one in question is known as the *Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen*. It has a Mission on the west side of the Red Sea near Annesley Bay, and employs the steamer occasionally in the service of the Mission there, and takes freight when not so employed.

“Our voyage was made in every way comfortable by Captain Kinnman, a worthy Christian man. The ‘Ansgarius,’ though small—406 tons—has shown herself to be, on this voyage at least, an excellent sea boat. For three days after leaving Natal we made no way on account of a gale from the N.E. As the ship had to be hove to for about thirty-six hours, we could hardly be expected to have made much progress. To some of our friends the voyage was, in this portion of it, not very pleasant. We anchored off the bar of Quillimane on Tuesday and signalled for a pilot. No pilot came. Next morning Captain Kinnman got up steam and crossed the bar at sunrise with sixteen feet of water, and that, as it would now appear, not the line of greatest depth. We picked up our dilatory Arab pilot inside the bar,—not just the place where he was most wanted. Under his guidance we steamed up to the town—twelve miles—in smooth deep water, on a very beautiful morning. The low banks of the river are covered on both sides to the water’s edge with a dense forest of mangroves with here and there a few cocoa-nut palms.

“Quillimane appeared to me very greatly improved since my visit here in 1863. The streets, which are sandy, are kept fairly free from grass. On the sides of some of them an acacia, with very long heavy pods, fifteen or eighteen inches long, has been planted in lines, and affords an agreeable though not very dense shade. Cocoa-nut palms still abound and give a marked appearance to the place. They are found growing in some of the streets,—in groves in various parts of the town. The trees seem to take care of themselves, and yield their fruit when healthy three times a year. The produce of each tree is worth rather more than four shillings, and a thousand trees are thus worth annually £200. The fruit is surprisingly cheap. The houses seemed to me more numerous and in better order. A new Custom House has been built; the old one was blown out of existence some three or four years ago by an explosion of gunpowder caused by lightning striking the house during a thunderstorm at night. This did considerable damage to the

town, even though all the houses stand apart. There are two French commercial houses now in Quillimane, whose chief business is in ground-nuts, sesamum, cocoa-nuts, wax and ivory. They represent firms in Marseilles. There is even now, as one of the signs of marked progress, a house which may be called the Quillimane Hotel—at least it is a hotel when there are guests. It is kept by Senhor Leite :—and there the whole Livingstonia party, with the E. C. Mission and Mr. Cotterill and Mr. Thelwall, are living till we are ready to proceed up the river. For myself I am a guest in the house of my staunch old friend Senhor Jose Nunes, and occupy the same part of the house as I did thirteen years ago. We are fairly bound to speak well of the Portuguese for their hospitality and invariable kindness. At least the writer of this letter is bound to do so. Quillimane has an interest even in a Missionary point of view as the probable port to this part of the African Continent. There is no doubt a great deal more could be made of the place. The bar is not so bad *in ordinary weather* as it is called. Two things would help to make the place,—a lower tariff of customs duties to allow of free supply of goods to the immense country lying to the west on both sides of the Zambesi; and second, the cutting of a short canal four or six miles long, to give communication for boats to the main stream of the Zambesi without the necessity of *portage* at Mazan. We shall have to carry all our goods and boats overland for that distance. The work is neither difficult nor expensive, and yet it is not done. For the present the single broken or missing link between Quillimane and the world outside is the want of a small steam launch to communicate with the mail steamer, in all states of the wind less than a gale. Either this or pilots with more activity and courage. There is at present only one, and the mail steamers have frequently passed without any communication with the shore. When this is done, it will be much easier to reach Livingstonia than at present.

“The town contains about two hundred Europeans and three to four thousand natives. The best piece of information I have to give is that in the beginning of 1878 there will be no slaves in Quillimane nor in any of the Portuguese possessions in Eastern Africa.

“All the Missionary party are well and busy getting boats and goods ready for a start up the river. The whole force numbers twenty-three, European and native; six of these being

natives ; five of them having been at Lovedale, and the sixth is from Port Elizabeth.

“ I hope that God’s blessing may still go with us. No accident has befallen us, for which we may be thankful ; but some four or five days after we left the ‘Ansgarius’ a young Swedish sailor belonging to the ship fell overboard from one of the ship’s boats and was drowned. A gale was blowing at the time and the current is swift and the water deep. His body was not recovered. He has a mother in Stockholm who is probably expecting her son home in the autumn.

“ We shall require nearly a fleet of canoes to carry all the party and their goods up the river. If fifteen large canoes and five boats will take what is now intended to be taken, I shall be very thankful. With so large a force we shall not be able to travel very rapidly.

“ From Zanzibar we have news of the Church Missionary Society’s Mission to Lake Victoria Nyanza. They were getting ready to start about the end of July. The Sultan had passed their goods free of customs duties. The party however had all, with the exception of two, suffered pretty severely from fever, and one was dangerously ill.

“ It may interest some of your readers to know that though that is a Church of England Mission, three of its members are Free Church men—one of them being the doctor.

“ We have been busy all day in the Custom House, where we have something to pay before we proceed. This has also been the cause of a serious delay of nearly a week. There is a threefold maxim I have never found to fail in African travel. You may safely count on having, first, longer to wait ; second, further to go ; third, more to pay than you expected. If you make up your mind to this, you will be saved much mental disquiet ; and you will pursue your journey, whatever be its objects, with a light heart and a lighter purse. There is no recent news from Lake Nyassa. We may take this to be good news, as if any disaster had befallen our friends we should probably have heard. They are in God’s keeping, and may be safely trusted in that. We hope under God’s blessing to reach Livingstonia about the beginning of October if nothing befall by the way. The reinforcement sent out is made up of men in every way fitted to go through with their work. Messrs. Ross, Gunn, and Miller, and our native friends from Lovedale, well known there, with Thomas Crooks, are all willing and active, with

their minds thoroughly set on the main object of the Mission. And a man more admirably fitted for the work than Dr. Black it would be very difficult to find. Yours, &c.,

“JAMES STEWART.”

“*Quillimane, August 16th, 1876.*”

LETTER FROM REV. DR. STEWART TO REV. MR. BUCHANAN.

“*Livingstonia, Lake Nyassa, October 20th, 1876.*”

“You will be glad to see from this, that we have safely reached the end of our long journey. We arrived here on Saturday last, the 21st, at one in the afternoon, in the small steamer ‘Ilala’ which brought us up from the Cataracts. Mr. Young is away down again for the the third time for Mr. Cotterill and Mr. Thelwall and their men and goods. We found those here well, and looking well, with one exception. All our party with two exceptions were very well. These two were still suffering from the malaria of the river and from the inevitable exposure to the sun which living several weeks in open boats necessitates, awnings, when they can be used, and other contrivances nevertheless. Already however the cool air of the lake has been beneficial.

“We marched from Matiti, the lowest of the Murchison Cataracts, to the upper end of Pimbi in three and a half days—one of the detachments taking a little more. The whole Livingstonia party, with some Makololo boys coming to school here, embarked in the ‘Ilala’ at Pimbi on Thursday, the 19th of October. There were twenty-five in all in the ship, and she was filled up with stores and with wood for the voyage. She came here in two and a half days, anchoring at night. The change from our former slow progress,—tugging all day for three weeks against a strong stream with oar and pole,—to steam, though only at six or seven knots an hour, was a great and pleasant relief.

“The following day at three in the afternoon we anchored off Mapunda’s village, and Mr. Young and I went ashore to see him. He is the most potent man in the valley of the Upper Shire. The village is a very large one, but badly situated, and Missionary work could not be attempted there just now. It lies so low that in the wet season a portion of the village must be under water. The situation, however, with the hills of Lake Nyassa and of Shire in the distance is very striking, but the

immediate neighbourhood for malaria and mosquitoes must be unsurpassed. What the place needs is cultivation.

“I found Mapunda a younger man than I expected, perhaps about forty. He was exceedingly friendly, but did not seem sober, though it was only the third hour of the afternoon. He is a great beer drinker, and I suspect oftener found in the state in which we found him than not. We made our stay short, gave our present, and came away. It did not seem advisable to enter into conversation on any general questions, as I had done with all the Makololo Chiefs on the way up, about the objects of the Mission, about living at peace, and having no hand or concern in any way with buying or selling slaves.

“What dissatisfied me most in my visit to Mapunda’s village was the many traces of Arab influence and Arab civilization such as it is. We cannot wonder that he has taken what they have brought, as it was better than anything he had. They have been his teachers—the greater the pity. Why have we been so long in coming? There were several good large square houses in the village. His own house had a high door, the posts and lintels of which were carved with the debased style of ornament common everywhere among the Arabs.

“Degraded and very ugly Negroes from the coast, with straw fezzes stuck on the crowns of their badly shapen heads, and with dirty Arab dresses on, were lounging about the entrance of Mapunda’s house. They carried old flint muskets, the barrels of which were polished as bright as steel with much rubbing and abundance of grease; and they comported themselves like armed men of a higher caste than the common crowd about them. I noticed also that the women wore the nose ring or an imitation of it, which hitherto has not been seen on the Shire, and which I thought was peculiar to Hindoo women. Our Arab friends must also have introduced that.

“I was not much gratified with what I saw, but I should be wrong to represent Mapunda as otherwise than exceedingly friendly to us at present—despite, no doubt, of much which these dealers in flesh and blood must say to prejudice him against us. He was *very friendly*, and smote upon his heart again and again, and with his little finger clasped mine and pulled hard in token of perpetual amity; but as this was probably due to that exhilaration which strong beer is apt to produce, perhaps we had better not reckon this as of much account. It is said, though whether on good authority or not,

that he is a heavy loser by the sort of half treaty or understanding between him and us that he would not sell slaves nor allow them to pass the ferry close below his village.

“ We entered the south end of the lake at six next morning, and according to the custom on board had worship after starting, the engines being stopped for a few minutes. It was a beautiful morning, with scarcely any wind. At seven we gathered forward, and at Mr. Young’s request we sang, ‘ From Greenland’s icy mountains,’ all joining with a fervour which was no doubt helped by the peculiar associations of the hour and place.

“ We rounded a small island off Cape Maclear at half past twelve, and immediately came in sight of the settlement distant about five miles. It was not much to look at, but the germs of things are often insignificant. I cannot say whether the present position will continue to be permanently occupied or not. It is always difficult to find these three things combined—a good harbour; a rich country immediately inland from that; and, in these latitudes, a healthy situation. Now that is what we are in quest of, and what is not easily found. Meanwhile we have got a position worth holding, and from which we can carry on operations.

“ Livingstonia at present consists of a line of wattle and daub houses with strong inside posts, some twelve or thirteen in number, (exclusive of outhouses, workshop, and other such erections,) forming one side of a square two hundred and twenty paces long. This line faces the bay, and will be continued down to the beach on two sides. The houses however are not mere huts, as one of them is fifty feet long by twenty-five, built somewhat like an Indian bungalow. It is cool and airy, having four doors and a plentiful supply of windows. Another is a two storey house with a verandah both before and behind, and on the upper storey as well. This is the idea of Dr. Laws, and is occupied by him, and there can be no doubt that bedrooms twelve feet from the ground will be much more healthy than the driest of floors below. The place will gradually grow, and we shall be better able to speak of its capabilities, especially of the plain behind, a year or two hence than just now. I wish to express a very guarded opinion till we have more experience. The beauty of the position is beyond all question. Before us we have all day a blue sparkling sea, so blue and clear that I cannot get rid of the idea that it is salt water

and a portion of the great ocean I am looking at. Others who have seen a great deal of the sea have the same impression. To the north there is only the water horizon, and we should only see the same though we sailed in the small steamer for a week. To the west, fifteen to twenty miles distant, there are the hills of the mainland. In the bay itself are three large islands distant one to five miles. They are too steep and rocky to be of any use, though curiously enough an elephant was shot some months ago on the furthest off by Mr. Young and the Mission party. He was the only one on the island. Behind the settlement as the plain terminates we have the same rocky but tree-covered mountains, with a gorge opening out into the country to the south, and which forms the base of the peninsula of which Cape Maclear is the northern point. On the quality of this small plain, and on the exit through this gorge as easy or difficult, chiefly depends the question of this position being permanently occupied. I would like to examine the country carefully and at leisure before expressing any opinion.

“Of the immediate site a good deal more could have been made from the first, but for an unfortunate destruction of old trees immediately in front of the building. In this country the sun kills men, and shade is half life. We shall save all now for the sake of shade. We have plenty of wood for building purposes further back. It is sufficient for our present purpose, if it is not very large and very straight.

“As to the vast superiority of the climate here compared with the river valleys down below, no one can be here even for a few days without being thoroughly convinced. There is always a delightful cool breeze blowing from or to the lake. Its waters are nearly as blue as the deep blue of some parts of the Mediterranean. And I notice that the men can without distress do nearly twice as much work outside as they could in any position lower down the Shire.

“Still let no one think that even here there is perfect freedom from fever. All have during the year suffered more or less, but it does not seem to have been severe in its type, for, with one exception as already mentioned, all look well and healthy. We must not forget, however, that we are in latitude 14° S.—that degree runs almost through the present site of Livingstonia; and with an average temperature at noon of 80° to 85° F., this is not just the place best fitted for a European colony, understanding that word in its strict sense. The outdoor labourers

here must always be the natives. But of this I am certain, that Englishmen are living in large numbers within the tropics in a hundred worse places. So far as my limited experience goes, I have great hope that time will only confirm my favourable impression of the climate of the lake as compared with that of the steaming or baking valleys below; for this is after all the main question.

“The people are beginning to gather about us, and I have no doubt they will soon be here in sufficient numbers. A few families are already settled, and there are always men from neighbouring villages here for a few days or a month at a time assisting in the different works. Already also, though in a small way, the place is becoming a centre for the disposal of such goods as they have. We want a good deal of food, for there are now twelve white men on the Station, and when the ‘Ilala’ arrives we shall have seventeen. Every day, however, now that the news has spread that more English are coming, there are canoes coming and going, bringing *malonda’s* (merchandise) of all sorts, dried fish, fowls, goats, sweet potatoes, maize, &c. &c. We wish to encourage this, and to induce them to bring all they can spare, and thus learn that it is no use stealing a man to sell him for a few yards of calico when they can get as much for a canoe load of potatoes or any other produce.

“Missionary operations are as yet on a small scale, but they are begun. I was glad to see, the day after we arrived, a congregation of forty assemble in a hut to listen to a very simple explanation of a Bible-picture from Dr. Laws—the brazen serpent. All the staff have done more at the language than I should have expected in the course of a year. This congregation consists of those living on the place, and of others who come from the neighbouring villages to work for a week or month or more. Dr. Laws has also had a few patients on whom he has operated and practised successfully, one for a tumour above the eye. Another poor fellow came here with an injury in the spine and was attended to, but his case was hopeless and he died, more easily here than he would at his own home. He is the first that is interred in the cemetery, and will, I hope, be the only one for a long time to come.

“As he had opportunity Dr. Laws carried on a school, but to-day we all gathered together at ten o’clock, white men and natives, and made a formal opening of the school with fourteen

pupils. We had a black board and a few slates, and the lesson consisted of the first few letters of the alphabet, and the first few numerals with the names in English and Manganja. We commended the school in prayer to God, and asked that His blessing might be given to the work this day begun. This is the first school on Lake Nyassa.

“The pupils were also informed that they would have to work for a certain time each day, with their teacher, probably at first an hour, though none of them know what an hour is; that it was as necessary to learn to work as to say the names of those marks on the board. Our chief difficulty in this industrial part of the business was the same as occurs at Lovedale, with the son of the Makololo Chief. He has been sent here, nearly two hundred miles, to receive education, and as the son of the head of all the Makololo thinks somewhat of himself. This difficulty was got over by some one proposing he should go into the carpenter’s shop or shed rather, for it is little better at present. An hour afterwards I saw Kampata sawing vigorously at a very hard board, to make a form for the school, as the furniture is as yet somewhat scanty, and I feel bound to say that he sawed in a much straighter line than many I have seen at Lovedale! The others will be put tomorrow to carry up some of the white gravel that lines the beach, in order to form a road now being constructed. Their work is not heavy, nor of much value, nor is it long continued; an hour a day at each is all we can venture on at present. By and bye it will be more. What we want is to induce the habit of work and to make industrial training for all, the same as at Lovedale, a part of the arrangements from the very first. Shadrach Mgunana has been appointed teacher, and I believe will do well. Here is the advantage of having some trained natives with us. It is quite true, as has been said, they are not so good, as some have ill-naturedly remarked, as the raw natives of the river for some kinds of work. They cannot fell a tree, they cannot tug all day in the blazing sun at an oar, without being knocked down with fever, and they cannot paddle a canoe at all. They can do none of these things half so well as a raw native. But they are Christians, they are fairly educated for their work, and within three days after our arrival one of them can open the school, and we can leave it in his care with confidence both from knowing his character and from knowing also that no burlesque will be made of the simplest

truths of Christianity while they are being taught. All this may be said of the four who have come to Livingstonia, and all this result has been gained simply because they have been educated up to and beyond the point where many would have us stop. Were these lads less educated they would be utterly useless, both as labourers and as teachers. Raw natives would do much better as the former, and we should have had no one fit as the latter, and Dr. Laws would not have been relieved of a work which, through necessity, is bad expenditure of time such as his. From his previous training Shadrach Mgunana also knows about boarding arrangements, and these in the case of those lads from a distance we have handed over to him. At present they are very simple, as he has only the care of a few mats and one square hut, and an *ufa* or porridge pot, which is to be filled and emptied three times a day. These details will get more elaborate in time. Some definite work will be found for the others. One of them can make himself understood apparently to the Makololo, and, if it were safe to send him now down to the village of Ramokukan, on an island in the Shire one hundred and fifty miles from here, we should send him, but at present that had better be delayed until after the rainy season, which will begin next month.

“ I have written you a longer letter than I intended and more diffusely. There are many things I have not touched on, but may in some future letter. I have to say that all the staff of the Mission are men apparently whose hearts are thoroughly in their work. Both Dr. Laws and Dr. Black need no commendation from me. Of the industrial staff Mr. George Johnston has been of signal service to the Mission. Mr. Young has done his part of the work with praiseworthy energy, and has taken good care of the ship on a vast inland sea, which sometimes gets as rough, according to his account, as any sea can well be. Since our arrival it has only shown the smoothest of sparkling and rippling waters. But from all I hear it is often very stormy.

“ There is one thing here which gratifies me much. It is the frequent spontaneous expression of gratitude to God on the part of several of the staff for the care that God has taken of them and of the whole enterprise, which, with all that is hopeful about it, has not been without risk and a large amount of heavy work. So far as the second party or reinforcement of this year is concerned I heartily express the same feeling. We

have reached Lake Nyassa without loss of life or property or any accident worth mentioning, if we except the desertion of our canoemen and boatmen on the Quillimane River. It is true it looked as if there were to be some rough work there; and an armed guard was necessary unless we were prepared to stand helplessly by and be robbed. Still even that was got over by a little patience and the loss of a little calico, and without anything serious. One shot was fired into the air by a too hasty man, but even that one shot I regret. I hope no exaggerated accounts of this affair have reached you. I have frequently referred to the delays on this journey, and perhaps given you the impression that we have lost a great deal of time. The fact is we have reached Lake Nyassa in less actual time by nearly a fortnight, though a week later in date, than the expedition of last year, and which received just and well merited credit for the rapidity with which they performed the journey.

“But that we are all here safely and well after so varied a journey by canoes, boats, steamer, and foot, over two land crossings, one of them sixty miles in length, with heavy steel boats to carry and take to pieces,—and involving, with the carriage of goods, the employment from first to last, at different points, of more than one thousand five hundred men, all strangers to us and ignorant of our objects and aims,—is not due surely to the wonderful wisdom and care of any one, but to the good and kind providence of God, which has day by day closely watched over us and cared for us. That is the whole secret.

“I would not be too sanguine nor raise delusive hopes, and I think I may say that in every statement public or private which I have made I have been sufficiently cautious. Experience here may correct, to our sorrow, many of our first impressions, but I think we have found what the Christian public who are interested in the spread of Christ's Kingdom have long been wishing for, a position in Central Africa that is accessible, and that can be held without sacrifice of life; or that is at least comparatively healthy; and that is also the key to an extensive surrounding region. I do not say this precise spot is the position, but if not, we are not far from it. So far as I can now see, *the thing is done*. If this turn out in point of healthiness all we wish, we or others can extend northwards for three hundred and fifty miles of latitude. Still further to

the north, with only two hundred miles of intervening land, is Tanganyika, and westwards, at about the same distance, is Lake Bangweolo. Southwards, when we choose to venture into the Shire valley, we have three hundred miles of water lines to work upon. For white men we could not risk that just now. Native agents probably may—either some of those we have brought, or who may be trained, and there are now half-a-dozen here as boarders from Ramokukan's island, in the newly opened school. For Missionary and other operations the position we have got is one of great value. Any man with his eyes open, having any experience of Central Africa, may see that. I devoutly hope that the two Churches, the Free and United Presbyterian, which have hitherto been united in this enterprise will continue to work together; and that the latter body, which sent Laws, will now throw its whole weight and influence into this great effort. The Free Church has taken all the risks of the first venture and shown the enterprise to be a safe one, though some doubted. It will require the strength of both Churches to fully take advantage of this opening. Let us in God's name and for Christ's cause in the African continent keep a firm grip of the position we have gained. It will be a shame and a thousand pities if the two Churches cannot work together in such a cause. Yours ever,

“JAMES STEWART.”

The following address by Lieutenant Young, which we quote from the “Christian Express” for February 1st, 1877, brings down the intelligence as to the expedition to the latest date.

LIEUT. YOUNG, R.N., ON THE MISSION TO LAKE NYASSA.

“MR. YOUNG in his address to the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce said, that their expedition had been so far successful. They had made friends of all and enemies of none. He had letters from the only honest men in the Portuguese dominions, and the only honest men in those parts (and there were very few) wished for the English to take possession of the country. No good could ever be done until the English were in possession of Delagoa Bay. The establishment of the Livingstonia Mission had already had an effect on the slave trade, and where ten thousand had been sent to the coast the year before, only thirty-

eight were sent down last year, and those by mistake. The slave trade could easily be put down. The natives on the Shire would now allow no slaves to pass, because he had given them orders not to do so. The Shire was as fine a country as any in the world for cotton and sugar, and they were largely producing cotton already. The natives on the Lower Shire had been introduced by Dr. Livingstone, and they would obey English orders. It was not so with the rotten Portuguese, whom he would show up in the right place. The Mission had brought letters from the Portuguese Government to His Excellency the Governor of Quillimane, and he charged them twenty-six per cent. duty and put every obstacle in their way. He (Mr. Young) had told him that the English would have their way, and that, if necessary, they would carry their trade to Rovuma, and shut him out. The Makololo worked for him patiently and well, and thoroughly trusted him. The Lake Nyassa is a magnificent sheet of water, so large that no small boat could go across it. The depth was over 120 fathoms, and it teemed with fish. All they wanted was to open the Zambesi, and put on it a steamer of 100 tons. The lake would be as accessible as Cape Town. The Portuguese never went there, because they were afraid. He, Mr. Young, had prevented the Makololo from coming down and giving the Portuguese a thrashing, and he was not sure he had done right. The Portuguese had done nothing for the country all the years they had been there, and were afraid to move without a gun, while he could walk anywhere with his walking-stick. Open the Zambesi to free trade and all would be well. In answer to questions, Mr. Young said that the Mission Station was perfectly healthy, men who had been down with fever all recovered there. There would be no difficulty in getting up the Zambesi with steamers constructed for the purpose. The steamer he had taken up was fifty feet long, and fifteen or twenty tons in burden. She was carried up in sections, put together at the lake, and was a complete success. He believed that an overland telegraph was practicable, and would assist in putting down the slave trade. Bands of slaves are not allowed to pass over Portuguese territory, but Portuguese are individually engaged in the slave trade. There were plenty of elephants about the lake, but ivory was as dear up the country as at Quillimane, natives taking no account of distance. Slaves come south of the Zambesi, but he could not say exactly where. If calico could be bought from the produce of the

ground instead of with slaves, the trade would cease. There was plenty of timber and wood with which the telegraph poles could be made. The neighbourhood of Cape Town was the only barren part of the country he had seen. The Portuguese official staff on the Zambesi consisted of one officer with three negro soldiers, the uniform of each consisting of one yard of calico. The Portuguese Governor at Quillimane receives £200 a year and makes out the rest by plunder. The land up the Shire is capable of producing everything, and trade has to be started *ab initio*. The country is populous and the people are willing to work. In the valley of the Shire there must be thirty or forty thousand people, quite enough to cultivate the land if properly protected. The Shire debouches into the Zambesi about one hundred and thirty miles from the mouth of the latter, and the cataracts are three hundred miles up the Shire. The cataracts occupy about seventy-five miles, and this is the difficult part of the journey. The carriage for this distance is done by natives. When he (Mr. Young) went up each native carried fifty pounds' weight for four yards of calico. The whole obstruction to opening up the country was offered by the Portuguese."

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"In concluding, we feel bound to note that Mr. Holden's volume has no rival, as respects its subject and its scope. It is full of interest alike to the Statesman, the Missionary, the Ethnologist, and the Philanthropist, and no Ethnographical Missionary Library can be complete without it. We hope it may receive due attention from the authorities at the Colonial Office."—*London Quarterly Review*.

"THE volume is full of interest from beginning to end, and forms one of the most valuable contributions ever yet made to South African literature."—*Methodist Recorder*.

"MR. HOLDEN has done his work well, and has laid us under obligation to him for such a treatise. We commend the book to all lovers of Christian Missions, to all interested in the history of their fellow men, and, lastly, to the learned members of the Anthropological Society."—*Christian World*.

"We commend this book to those of our readers who wish fully to understand all about the Kaffir Races. It is the book on the subject."—*Irish Evangelist*.

"MR. HOLDEN's twenty-seven years' residence in Kaffirland has given him opportunity for compiling a trustworthy and instructive book. He has brought together from such traditions as he could

